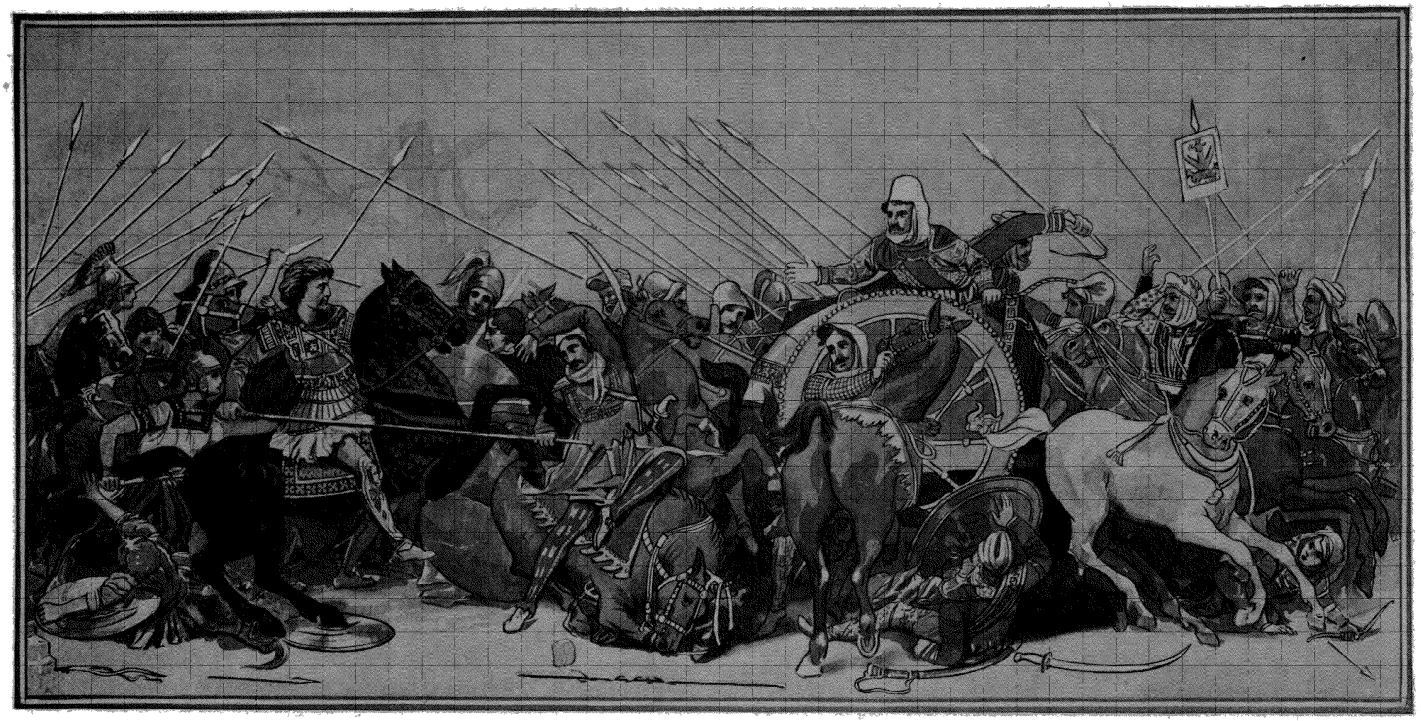

THE BATTLE OF ISSUS

The Persian King leaving his chariot to mount his horse preparatory to his flight from the field.

Reproduced in part from the Pompeian Mosaic.

See page 169.

History of

Alexander the Great

His Personality and Deeds

By MARSHALL MONROE KIRKMAN

Author of numerous works on Economic
and Scientific subjects.

ILLUSTRATED BY
AUGUST PETRTYL

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Dedication

I dedicate this history of the divine Alexander to my children and grandchildren, in the belief that they will live to see the great conqueror and ruler resume the exalted place he held in the hearts of men ere the horrors of the Middle Ages had dimmed the remembrance of his wonderful personality and immortal deeds.

THE AUTHOR.

June, 1913.

REFERENCES

In writing a History of Alexander the Great, I have had recourse to every trustworthy source of information known to scholars, including, among others, the ancient and well-known writers, Arrian, Ptolemy, Diodorus, Strabo, Aristobulus, Athenæus, Pausanias, Plutarch, Justin, Polybius and Curtius. These writers from whom we derive most that we know concerning Alexander, do not, however, corroborate each other in all their statements, but by painstaking comparisons supplemented by other sources of information and especially by what well-known historical characters of the period said and did, bearing on the life and deeds of Alexander, we are able at last to arrive at the truth.

MARSHALL M. KIRKMAN.

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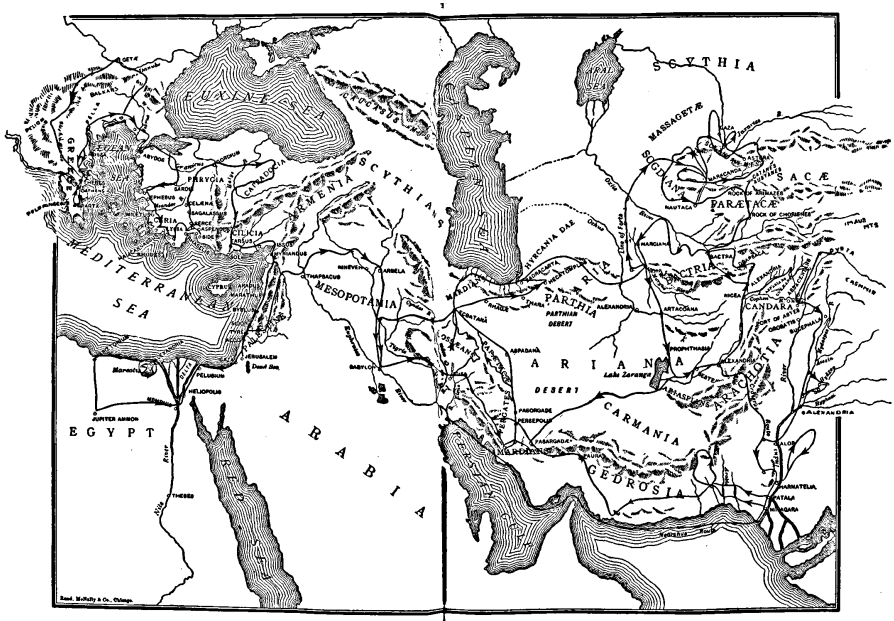

ALEXANDER'S MARCHES.

From the time of his ascending the Macedonian throne, 336 B. C., to his death at Babylon, 323 B. C., Alexander's marches, shown above, of which we have historical knowledge, amounted in the aggregate to 21,950 miles, without taking account of the many diversions, chance encounters, forays, sieges and battles incident thereto — a herculean labor that can scarcely be credited, remembering the short period and the rugged and half-savage countries traversed and subdued.

CHAPTER I

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

THE personality and deeds of every great man are the heritage of the world and their rescue from oblivion or misrepresentation an obligation no matter how remote the period in which he lived. It is this that tempts men to write anew of Alexander the Great, but too often it would appear with the belief that there is much that is to be deplored in his life that men should know and little that is worth recounting save his military exploits. In this I do not share and while in writing of him I shall endeavour to pay scrupulous regard to the facts of history, I shall treat with a free hand the misstatements, surmises, deductions and omissions of recent writers, the outgrowth on their part of a too great reverence for everything of Grecian origin. For the Greeks of Alexander's time lost no opportunity to misrepresent his character and belittle his acts; a scorn and hatred that many current writers, emulous of pleasing, allow to colour their statements, commenting indeed with malicious particularity on incidents in the life of the Great Conqueror in which the men of his own age saw nothing to criticise. Viewing him with Hellenic eyes, through the atmosphere of our age, they see noth-

ing ideal in his character and little save his military genius to commend. This injustice that clouds his fame, it is the office of impartial writers to correct, that men may know the Great Conqueror as he was and not as careless ignorance or envenomed malice have sought to portray him.

For many centuries after Alexander's death his personality and mighty deeds were the theme and admiration of mankind. He was looked upon as the ideal of all that is greatest in man. Men judged him soberly and in sympathy with his conceptions and achievements and the resultant good to mankind that followed his conquests. His portrait, idealized on coins current throughout the world, preserved his memory in the daily thoughts of men and the things that mankind most delighted in or revered, were made more honourable and attractive by bearing his name. The Roman Senate thought to honour itself by bringing him within the sacred companionship of classic Olympus. The Emperor Augustus looked upon him as a god and used his image for the imperial signet. Western Asia and Macedonia and the kingdom of Egypt worshipped him as the embodiment of Hellenistic genius.

In the history of the civilized world three men appear pre-eminent as soldiers, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar and Napoleon, to name them in the order of their lives. The unenlightened of today mistakenly regard Alexander merely as a sol-

dier. Like Cæsar and Napoleon he was, however, pre-eminent for his administrative qualities and except for his genius in this respect would have achieved little for mankind and certainly no lasting fame. We cannot conceive of Napoleon as having a superior as a soldier, but neither the studies of the great Corsican nor his experience prepared him to govern when he came to power, and it fell out that the structures he reared as Emperor fell about his ears like a house of cards, ere he ceased to rule. Alexander, on the contrary, was educated in preparation for the kingship—for the exercise of power—and under Aristotle's and Philip's wise guidance the art of government was an open book to him before he succeeded his father on the throne. It followed that his political measures happily kept pace with his growing dominion and power as a ruler, so that finally when, like Cæsar, he died untimely, his country rested undisturbed by internal or external enemies. Cæsar was a dominating power in the state ere he came to command an army; indeed, his career as a soldier grew out of the strife and turbulence of Roman politics and the necessities of his position as a political factor. Gaining in wisdom and strength with advancing years he finally overcame his enemies and died in unquestioned authority, his measures being such as to sustain and advance the interests of both himself and his country. The many and harassing vicissitudes of polit-

ical fortune that attended the rise and troubled lives of Napoleon and Cæsar, Alexander was in a measure happily spared, as his own kingdom sustained him with abiding loyalty throughout his life, while his victorious arms and the genius of his political measures secured the tranquillity of the countries he conquered and dominated.

Four centuries after Alexander's death, he was still the idol of the Roman world (and there was no other world), the subject of its admiration and familiar comment as is the case of Napoleon with us today. But in the two and twenty centuries that have elapsed since his death, much that concerned his personality—the subject of intimate and friendly comment for ages after his death—has been lost through the lapse of the traditions of that remote period and the destruction of the public and private records of the time. No one was held in such high admiration and honour as he and it is recounted of Pompey the Magnificent that in the multiplied triumphs accorded him by the Roman Senate, three hundred years after Alexander's death, the great general wore in adornment a simple tunic of Alexander's and deemed it the most precious of his possessions. In this triumphal procession lasting four days and made memorable by captive kings and queens and the rare and priceless treasures of the Orient, the Roman people thought this garment of Alexander's the most interesting of all the things

which decorated Pompey's triumph, as it traversed the crowded streets of Rome. Nothing could more vividly portray the honour in which the Great Conqueror was held by the Roman world than this simple tribute to his memory!

Historians recount that while the generals of Rome accomplished great and notable deeds they fretted throughout their lives that they were unable to achieve anything comparable with the multiplied glories of Alexander. Crassus, Roman Imperator and Consul, striving thus to distinguish himself in the east, led a Roman army as far as the Mesopotamian valley but only to be met and his army destroyed by the Parthians and he himself put to a shameful death. Mark Antony, the friend and confidant of Cæsar, and one of the greatest of Roman soldiers, emulous of Alexander's fame, reached the capital of Media Atropatene (on the border of Parthia) but after vain effort was compelled to withdraw, losing half his army, and in the retreat barely escaped annihilation. Pompey the Great, whose deeds elicited the admiration of all the world, skirted the edge of Parthia in his eastern conquests, but like the Roman conqueror, Lucullus, did not venture beyond! Cæsar in the plenitude of his power, contemplated the invasion of this graveyard of his countrymen, hoping in its conquest to replenish the Roman treasury, and at the same time through the subjugation of Asia, do

something comparable with Alexander, but dying left us to speculate as to what would have resulted from the venture had he lived. Where Rome's legions faltered and fell back Alexander went forward triumphantly! Thus he crossed the Tigris and with an army of forty-five thousand soldiers overcame a million men marshalled on the field of Arbela on ground chosen by the Persian King—a victory all men agree to have been due to the Macedonian's courage and unsurpassed generalship. Conquering, he continued his march fifteen hundred miles to the eastern confines of Ancient Persia, meeting and overcoming the Parthians (the conquerors later of the armies of Rome) in their ancient home as he did all others.

While Rome through her conquests in the east enriched her generals and despoiled and enslaved the people of the Orient, Alexander by his wisdom and moderation, fostered the countries he conquered, and through peaceful measures and stable governments everywhere added to the security, happiness, and wealth of the inhabitants. While Rome, it may be said in conclusion, met many overwhelming disasters, on the field of battle, Alexander never suffered defeat, and dying left his empire intact and in peace throughout its wide borders, thus evincing not only the thoroughness of his conquest, but the wisdom exercised in organizing and governing the countries he conquered.

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sades, the age of ignorance and savagery finding its sequel in the decline and fall of the Roman Empire.

But with the tranquilization of the world men again write of Alexander but more often than otherwise with such omissions and fictitious adornments, such elaboration and malicious comment and innuendo, that we can no longer recognize the man whose personality and mighty deeds mankind for so many centuries delighted to honour. Not content with recounting historical facts, they add surmise and malicious suggestion to give piquancy to their narratives, each striving to outdo the other in finding something new of an unsavoury nature to relate, until the subject of their slanderous statements, losing all semblance of greatness or creative good, appears merely as a monster of blood and wine; a man of degraded personality whose unbridged passions and gross appetites, overcame in him all sense of reason or justice. Thus constant repetition of the slanders and misrepresentations of the Greeks *of Alexander's lifetime* have at last come to be accepted as facts. And so it happens in the whirligig of time that it is his fate to be portrayed, not justly nor according to his ideals or mighty achievements, or the age in which he lived, but by the tenets of today as viewed through the eyes of prejudiced writers prolific in scandalous exaggerations and bald misstatements. Their view is that of the Greeks of the Conqueror's lifetime who saw

nothing admirable in the man or commendable in what he did, it being esteemed by them a patriotic and praiseworthy duty to misrepresent his acts and bring discredit upon his name. It is indeed impossible to measure the depths of their hatred. We have, however, a hint in the outburst of the popular Athenian orator and leader, Demades, who, when the death of Alexander was reported, cried out, "It cannot be true; if Alexander were dead the whole habitable world would have smelt of his carcass!" An exaggeration truly Athenian, and enlivening indeed if we did not know that in his death was foretold the subjugation of Greece and the destructions of its political hopes.

The warlike and self contained Romans, who rarely saw anything praiseworthy in the achievements of others, were filled with unstinted admiration of Alexander. The Grecians, on the other hand, hated and despised him. Great in fertility of resource in organizing and applying governments to the varying needs of men, had he received the co-operation and sympathy of Hellas, he would it is apparent have made Greece the dominant power of the world. But blocking him in this as they had his father, Philip of Macedon, it fell out after his death that Rome, finding the Grecian communities detached and defenceless, plucked them one by one from their isolated shells with the relish that a hungry man devours a dish of oysters.

While men admired Alexander for his military genius, they esteemed not less the wonderful administrative ability he displayed in organizing governments adaptable to the myriad nationalities and peoples that made up the Empire of the East. And that he should finally die a natural death in his bed (a remarkable thing for a ruler in that savage age) surrounded by his friends—his vast empire at peace—was thought the most wonderful of all, illustrating as it did the wisdom of his acts and the moderation and fairness of the man himself. Until the coming of Napoleon the splendour of Alexander's deeds in the field were recognized by all mankind as incomparable, but the adulation with which he was regarded for a thousand years and that caused him to be idolized and made the subject of romance for so many centuries was due quite as much to his personality as to his achievements as a soldier.

In the controversies between Macedonia and the Grecian cities, the sympathies of students sentimentally and mistakenly incline to the side of Greece. It was the enlightened desire of Philip—and after him of Alexander—to consolidate the governments of Greece and Macedonia as Rome did under similar circumstances, in the case of Italy. But Greece, unresponsive to the needs of the time was insistent in maintaining the ancient forms and isolated communities of a bygone age. Dreaming of the past, and jealous of the present, it took no

heed of the storm that threatened, and that in the end caused the country to be overrun by enemies, its cities destroyed and their people impoverished and sold into slavery. Having no political life outside the sheltering strength of the Macedonian King, Greece plotted and chattered, forgetful of the present and provoking the fate that ultimately overwhelmed it. Threatened, the communities waited apart, proclaiming from rostrum and marketplace the things they had achieved in the past, thinking to stir the world by recounting the deeds of heroic ancestors. Long menaced there was no thought of federation or surrender of the petty rights of individual cities for the common safety. Invited by Philip and afterward by Alexander to become an equal part of the invincible power of Macedonia, the Greek cities refused to surrender their petty rights, clinging with fatuous fervency to the isolation and weakness of tribal days. In other things the wisdom of the Greeks illuminated the world and we still seek guidance in what they said and did, but unhappily, amidst the plenitude of divine gifts bestowed upon them, they did not and could not comprehend the needs or potentialities of governments, if, as a race, they were to continue to possess liberty and life. Philip on the other hand, while falling short in artistic temperament and in some of the graces of life, was yet profoundly wise in the needs and arts of government and the necessity of

strength and homogeneous effort. But for this wisdom—the wisdom of political life—the Greeks gave him—and after him Alexander—no credit, looking upon the first as merely an aggressive and brutal tyrant and the last only as a soldier and conqueror. It was owing to the total incapacity of the Greeks as a people to understand the fundamental needs and purposes of government, that defenceless and scattered they finally became the victims of those wiser and less selfish in such matters than they. Both Philip and Alexander came at last to understand the political impotency of the Grecian people and so after instituting such repressive measures as were necessary to keep them quiet, the mighty Macedonian leaders left them to take up the great work that awaited them elsewhere. Had Alexander, however, lived, the supreme need of Greece, including Macedonia, would it is apparent have compelled the merging of the petty Grecian communities with Macedonia under one stable form of government, but dying he left them apart to be followed later by their despoilment by their all powerful neighbour to the west.

The subtility of the Greeks and their clearness of intellect and the charm of their orators and philosophers at a later day delighted the Romans and being men of action, they put into effect many of the thoughts which the Hellenic world was content to merely talk about. The philosophy and amazing

versatility of mind of the Greeks, surprised the simple and practical people of Rome. This until one unfortunate day when the great philosophers of Greece being on a visit of ceremony to Rome, one of their number, Carneades, discoursing with irresistible power on the great good that arises from virtue, the listening multitude were entranced with his eloquence. But vain of his power, he again mounted the rostrum and with equally convincing logic demonstrated that virtue was a simple and unprofitable thing! Horrified, his listeners turned away, whereupon Cato, jealous of Roman dignity and its staidness of life, cried out with great asperity that such twaddle and the presence of such persons, was harmful to a people! It was this sort of discourse by men who moulded the thoughts of the unthinking and shaped the political destinies of Hellas, that kept the country for so many centuries in a turmoil of unrest. Abetting and encouraging the wild democracy of Athens, the emotional and demagogic leaders, as individuals, had cause to distrust Philip and Alexander, but assuredly the poets, sculptors, painters, authors, scholars, architects and the sturdy citizens and yeomanry of the country could not have been otherwise than benefitted by the friendly intermingling of Greeks and Macedonians, remembering the latter's sane democracy, vigorous courage and love of personal freedom. But the city that, while shaping the destinies of Hellas, could

idly watch the murder of Socrates and permit the godlike Aristotle to be banished in his old age, could see nothing to admire in Philip or Alexander or in a comprehensive and stable form of government.

Athens in Alexander's time it must be remembered, still retained her intellectual supremacy but had ceased to be the city of Alcibiades—of men of courageous purposes and achievements. The seas, the battle-field, the vicissitudes of adventurous men and the quarries of Sicily, had swallowed up those able to defend the beloved city or spread abroad its power. No longer did the ancient capital listen to the councils of brave men, but still had, as always, many great citizens who lacked nothing but political wisdom and physical courage; men who looked uncomprehendingly (often malevolently) on the stirring events of an active world, but were microscopic in scrutinizing the faults of others and quick to tell thereof, drawing broadly on their imagination when passions ruled as in Alexander's case. Men, alas, to whom both he and Philip were enigmas, outgrowths of a rude and barbarous age. Aristotle, while admitting that an enlightened nation might conquer and govern a barbarous people with advantage to both was doubtful in his approval of Alexander's deeds. He no more than the most obtuse Greek of his time, comprehended the invigorating effect that the opening of the closed doors of Asia and Egypt would have on Grecian thought and en-

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astray, so that they regarded him as a soldier of indomitable courage and infinite genius for war, and little more. His marches and battles and ebullitions of temper were recounted, the last with infinite detail and relish, but his administrative genius, his political acumen, the greatness of his thoughts and the courage and far-reaching wisdom of his measures and other and more lovable qualities, were for a period unknown or ignored. And so during his life, there was no great character so little understood or so altogether vague and indeterminate as this illustrious Prince.

Because of this in writing of him, impartial historians have cause to regret that he had no friend (like Boswell) who lived in his glory and amiable weaknesses, to recount the multitudinous details of his eventful life. No one but must mourn that it should have been left mainly to his enemies and the perfunctory scribes of his military camp to tell of him and his acts and this without affection or enlightened understanding. Because of this and the loss of later and more enlightened records, the mighty Conqueror has become little more than a memory to men and his personality but imperfectly understood for lack of knowledge of the real man. Of his gentle and abiding love for his friends, his natural trust in those about him, his boundless generosity, his respect for women, his forbearance in the case of the weak, his lack of rancour in regard

to enemies who yielded and the abiding trust of those about him in his honour and sense of justice and much beside we have known little, and that imperfectly. A mighty Prince, versatile and imaginative of mind; frank of speech, treasuring all who did him a favour; a lover of the poets; a wise and efficient governour; a master of political expediency —conqueror of the world at thirty-three, the Greeks of his day spoke of him contemptuously as a military autocrat of ungovernable temper and gross appetite! How incongruous and absurd! But of Alexander as he was, the loving student, reading and rereading with patient industry the accounts of his life that have come down to us, may however at last discern little by little, the real man, just as the ardent lover of nature is able finally to espy the nest of the wild sea-fowl hidden amid the peaks of inaccessible crags upon which his gaze has been long and attentively fixed. But well may Alexander have lamented at the tomb of Achilles that he had no Homer like the Grecian hero, to portray his true character and recount his mighty deeds!

CHAPTER II

MACEDONIA-GREECE

For centuries the peasantry of Macedonia had their homes in the mountain fastnesses where they cultivated their small farms and watched their flocks in lonely glens and on the slopes of wooded heights, their homes consisting of rude caverns, or huts of mud and stone. Later to wean them from their primitive life their rulers moved them down into the plain and provided them dwellings and implements of trade and husbandry; clad in untanned skins, they gave them fitting garments; unlettered, they sent them to school; armed with charred sticks and wicker shields, they put into their hands spears and iron bucklers; without order in battle, they schooled them in the art of war, and when they had learned their lesson led them forth to victory. Intent upon the simple problems of life the Macedonians thought but lightly of the complex subjects of human affairs that stirred their Grecian neighbours to the south. Such things they regarded as belonging more particularly to the aged and those with enfeebled bodies lacking enterprise and beneath the notice of brave and adventurous men. Of the arts they knew little, nor cared to, deeming them unworthy of serious thought. Of legislative assem-

blies or local councils there were none save those convened to decide the fate of men, or discuss some problem of the country's need. Speech was held in little respect save as it expressed some potent or practical purpose and of orators they had none, nor felt the loss.

The rugged climate of Macedonia and the poverty of the people, precluded effeminacy, for much of the inhabited country was, as it is today, a land of sombre forests and ice-cold rivers wending their tortuous ways through narrow defiles and deep morasses to the sea. A land of isolated valleys and sequestered dells hidden among towering mountains and lonely streams, the abode of hardy men and the hiding place of deer and other wild animals. Here, unnoticed, by the world as the centuries passed, widely scattered tribes were merged into clans, and these at last into a mighty kingdom. It was, as it is at the present moment, a breeding-place for men, impatient of restraint, swift to resent offense and quick to speak their minds—a rude democracy in methods and desires.

Harking back to that remote period and reflecting on the character of the Macedonians, there is no people with whom we may so aptly compare them as a whole as with the rugged, democratic inhabitants of England in the time of the Plantagenet King, Richard "Coeur de Lion," A. D. 1189. Like the people of England at that period they were

satisfied with themselves and the existing guarantees of freedom based on the wisdom and good will of the King coupled with the individual determination of noble and peasant to enforce their personal rights against all comers. Alexander, however, on coming to the throne, thanks to the enterprise of his predecessors, found the nobility, landed gentry and well-to-do citizens familiar with the luxuries of life and the possessors of an enlightened education, the more humble classes being as a whole eager to learn.

It is pointed out by historians and truthfully enough, that Philip of Macedon was the greatest man the world had known up to his time. His son, by his unparalleled achievements, however, proved himself to be greater than the father. The two kings were thus the greatest men the world had produced up to the time of Cæsar, nor has the world ever produced a greater man than Alexander. The personality of Philip was in many respects the most remarkable of any great man of whom we have knowledge. He reigned twenty-three years (359-336 B. C.) and suffered during that time many extremes of fortune. When a youth it was his fate to be sent by the reigning king as a hostage to Thebes where he spent several years, much of the time in danger of his life. It was, however, his good fortune while in the Bœotian capital to acquire the friendship of the Theban generals, Epaminon-

das and Pelopidas, the great military leaders of the age. From them he learned much of the art of war, which knowledge he subsequently utilized in the organization of the Macedonian army, making it the most effective known up to that time. Of the pre-eminence that Philip attained, and the aggrandizement of his country that followed, there are few if any, parallels in history. A usurper upon the throne, without wealth or followers, he had no source of strength in the early years of his reign save his ability to inspire men with confidence in his leadership and belief in the great destiny that awaited him as King. So impoverished was his country at this period that the only thing of value he possessed with which to bribe an enemy or tempt a friend was a silver goblet, which, for prudential reasons, he concealed at night beneath his pillow. It is recounted of him that so transcendent were his talents, and so great his power over others, that when face to face with men he had such semblance of honesty, so ingenuous an appearance of candour, so open and transparent a countenance that all, even the most astute, were led to trust his word. Yet it is claimed, and no doubt truthfully, that he was never sincere in anything he said or did when his interests or the interests of his country could be better served by concealment or misrepresentation. In this way, and through his great ability to influence or beguile men, he cemented and extended his

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ful to him if he could thereby accomplish his purpose. He had recourse to arms only when other means failed, for, strange as it appears to those familiar with his warlike achievements, he was neither bloodthirsty nor fond of strife. War was a means to an end, and sought only when peaceful measures failed. He shed blood no further than he deemed it necessary in the accomplishment of his great purpose—a purpose, alas that was never to be attained. Secretive, subtile, adroit in his intercourse with those he had cause to distrust, knowing no forbearance for the weak, merciless in claiming what he craved, great in comprehension and skilful in execution, he lost no opportunity to build up his power. Yet, where material interests were not concerned, no private citizen, no contented bourgeois was more amiable or peaceably inclined. He was not vindictive or cruel, and if he was violent, if he destroyed cities, ravaged populous districts with fire and sword, put his enemies to death or sold them into slavery, he did it in the accomplishment of a great and predetermined purpose—the unification of Macedonia and Greece and the securing of lasting peace among the warring and irreconcilable factions that had disturbed the country for a thousand years.

As a ruler Philip was comprehensive and all pervading, but in private life lacked many things. Gross in appetite, it was his nature to enjoy to the full the

table and the association of boon companions. At such times, giving himself up to the unstinted use of wine, his drunken debaucheries are said to have exceeded those of other men as his mind excelled those about him in its alertness and strength. These excesses, however they may appear to us, were to him in the nature of relaxations from the bloody strain of battle and the harassments of mind attendant upon the fulfillment of his mighty aims. For neither his love of wine, nor his liaisons—which were shameless and without number—ever led him to forget the duties of his kingly life or the aggrandizement of his country. In this all men agreed. It is said that when his anger was aroused, his face, inflamed from wine and wounds received in battle, assumed a purplish hue, giving him a savage appearance terrible to behold. Then, it is further related, the thousand acts of infidelity and shameless treachery that characterized his intercourse with men, showed their hideous impress on his countenance, so that those who gazed were transfixed at the fearful spectacle. Brave and forward in battle his hair at such times was bathed with sweat, and his heavy brows overshadowing his gleaming eyes gave to his leonine face the appearance of a ferocious animal; thus aroused, he was as one demented, his brain giving way in wild abandon to the turmoil and frenzy of the hour.

In all this how different from his immortal son!

For the latter—fortunate in all things—while inheriting Philip's marvelous administrative genius and good sense—happily possessed therewith the imaginative mind and poetic temperament of his forceful and romantic mother. These last led him to conceive immortal deeds, while from his father he inherited the courage and resourcefulness necessary to their complete achievement. So that it may be truthfully said of him, as of Cæsar that, "the elements were so mix'd in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world, this was a man."

Both Greece and Macedonia it is now apparent would have gained by the unification Philip and Alexander sought to bring about. Macedonia had the courage and unity of purpose to maintain the freedom of the conjoined states in the open field; Greece, the culture and civic experience the other lacked. The political life of Hellas was one of unrest, or petty aims having no sovereign purpose. Persia, once the sombre specter of the East, had for a century and more ceased to disturb the tranquil repose of Greece, but in its place old enmities had been revived and with them jealous bickerings and acts of savagery quickly followed by no less cruel reprisals. Of the great cities of Greece, each in turn had risen to place and power; had its hour of puerile splendour, and passed as quickly into physical decrepitude and garrulous mutterings, glad as a servitor to treat with those it once had dominated.

From time immemorial the petty communities, wedded to their provincialism, had quarreled and fell at each other's throats, satisfied if they but scared their enemy, and resting content at last with the erection of a meaningless trophy.

Nothing, it was apparent, could weld the Hellenic communities, make them homogeneous, united in purpose, save a compelling and friendly hand from without. In the beginning they had adjusted themselves in conformity with the physical features of the country, and separated by diverging mountains, guarded by fortified passes and towering citadels, seemingly secure in their several habitations, they felt no great patriotic concern for Greece as a whole. It was these conditions that rendered the Achæan League, so beneficent in its purpose, so ineffectual in its accomplishments. This isolation of the tribes of Hellas bred narrowness, provincialism, the rivalry and jealousy of exacting neighbours, the scene of ever recurring strife, until, at last, their internal wars were stilled by the mailed hand of conquering Rome! Then, powerless and unfriended, they realized how petty had been their differences but all too late, and forever too late. This Philip and Alexander foresaw and not unselfishly; for they desired above all things to aid Greece, to be thought Greeks; aspirations in which their country shared. They would have consolidated the two communities in the interest of both. Thus Hellas,

amid its mountain fastnesses, supported by Macedonia would have been unassailable and looking abroad for room in which to satisfy its noble longings and the vigour and enterprise of its citizens, would have gone forth to conquer the world, civilizing and ennobling what it conquered. The necessity of this united strength the Grecians did not recognize, or were unwilling to make the momentary sacrifices necessary to its consummation.

CHAPTER III

THE YOUTH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

356 B. C.

On the day Alexander was born—356 B. C.—three notable events are said to have occurred, namely: Parmenio (Philip's general) won a great battle over the Illyrians; the King's horses bore away the prize at the Olympian games; and the great Temple of Diana at Ephesus was destroyed by fire. This last was afterwards ascribed by the Persians to the anger of the gods, and was thought by them to have foretold the destruction of their Empire by the Macedonians. On the birth of Alexander, Philip is said to have written to Aristotle as follows: "Know that a son is born to me. I thank the gods not so much for the birth of this child as that he is born while you are yet alive. It is my hope that being brought up and instructed by you, he may be worthy of me and of my empire."

Alexander in his youth was taught by Lysimachus and Leonidas, the former a simple-minded pedagogue and greatly beloved by Alexander. He was in the habit of calling his master Achilles—after the Greek hero—and himself Phœnix, Achilles' tutor. Leonidas was a learned prince of austere habits and severe disciplinary measures and

it is said that he was in the habit of searching the packages sent to Alexander by his mother to see that they contained no dainties or luxuries of any kind.*

At the age of fourteen by Philip's direction, the young Prince passed wholly under the guidance and instruction of Aristotle, the scholar of the age—he who,

"Conquering the world of thought, gave instructions to him who should conquer the world itself."

Aristotle, however, it is believed, superintended the education and training of the Prince from a much earlier date; and the latter being of alert mind and eager of knowledge, fell heir to the philosophy of his incomparable instructor—a fact which has been too lightly regarded in its effect on the mind and worldly knowledge of the exalted Prince. This is true also, in regard to the teachings and severe discipline of Leonidas; for when in after years Ada, the Queen of Caria, whom Alexander had befriended, was in the habit of sending him dainties and sweetmeats, he finally excused himself saying he was taught when a youth that a night march

*This evidence of a motherly nature on the part of Olympias is about the only glimpse of womanly tenderness we have of the passionate and melancholy Queen. We get a similar glimpse of Philip's affection and admiration for his son in what he said when the latter—a boy of twelve—conquered Bucephalus and similarly, on the battlefield of Chæronea when the young Prince, then eighteen years of age, overcame the Theban army and afterward hastened to aid his father in the latter's contest with the Athenian forces.

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ner Asia, the character of their King, how he carried himself to his enemies, and what forces he was able to bring into the field), that they were struck with admiration of him, and looked upon the ability, so much famed, of Philip to be nothing in comparison with the forwardness and high purpose that appeared thus early in his son."

The sending of envoys to Macedonia by the Persian Kings was a thing of common occurrence, and Herodotus speaks particularly of one made up of seven ambassadors sent to Macedonia in the Sixth Century B. C. Emboldened by the power of their master and the strong wine of the country the envoys were led to offer mortal affront to the women of the Macedonian Court at a great banquet given in honour of the visitors by the old King Amyntas I. The heir to the throne, Prince Alexander—the first of the name—observing the offence, led the trembling and disturbed monarch aside, and, after much urging, prevailed upon him to withdraw. Afterward, pretending not to regard the outrage as censurable, the Prince asked the envoys to excuse the women until they had opportunity to bathe and make some changes of raiment, their attendance at the banquet (on request of the ambassadors) being a thing unusual and wholly unexpected. On his request being complied with, he introduced afterward, in their place, young men dressed in the guise of women; and when the Persian ambassadors re-

peated their insults, the youths fell upon them with daggers and put them all to death, their followers and retainers sharing their fate, so that not one was spared to tell the story. Thus the young Prince saved the honour of his court, and afterward, by adroitly diverting the noble sent by the Persian King to enquire into the mysterious disappearance of his envoys, saved his country from ruin.

When Alexander was eleven years of age Pella was visited by a body of Athenian ambassadors, among them Demosthenes and Æschines, at which time Philip, in his great pride, caused his son to declaim before them and also to recite a dialogue with another youth about his own age. He also performed for them on the harp, to their great delight, music having been made a part of his education, the immortal Aristotle believing that "Music is to man what a rattle is to the child."

At the age of twelve, Alexander overcame Bucephalus, a high-spirited horse that no one had been able to mount, and that Philip and others believed to be unconquerable. Upon his subduing the noble animal, his father shed tears of joy, and kissing him, exclaimed:

"Oh, my son, look thee out a kingdom equal to and worthy of thyself, for Macedonia is too little for thee."

Philip is said to have given thirteen talents (a talent was about $1,150.00) in gold for the animal.

Alexander afterward rode Bucephalus at Chæronea, and in all his great battles until, at last, the noble animal dying of old age in India, he in his great and merited affection, built and named a city in honour of the incomparable steed.

High of spirit as a youth Alexander refused to enter the Olympic games, because he had not kings or their sons to compete with. He is said to have disapproved of professional athletes, claiming they should place their strength at the service of their country—an unquestioned duty in that age of aggression and war.

If we may accept what is said by writers as authentic Alexander when a youth appears to have been much like other boys of high temper. The warlike activity of Philip, it is told, occasioned him many unhappy hours and caused him to utter many ill-tempered remarks. It is said that he looked on his father's multiplied triumphs in arms with discontent and was wont to say that the King's victorious progress would leave little or nothing for him to achieve when he came to the throne! The greatest affection, however, existed between father and son and Quintus Curtius recounts how Alexander when a lad saved his father's life in an uprising of the Triballi, a savage Thracian tribe, by his gallantry and undaunted courage.

Referring to Alexander's courage, an ancient writer says, "He was unconscious of dangers which

terrified other men, his bravery excelling that of all, even of those who had no other good qualities."

It is recounted as something strange and noteworthy that the adust temperament of Alexander's body gave off the fragrance of a sweet perfume; a thing unknown in other men. This fire of the blood stimulating a mind and body of preternatural susceptibility, produced such prodigious mental activity and vital force that the historian, Polybius, voicing the Roman world, says of him that he was of superhuman pattern. This characterization is not exaggerated for nowhere do we find in common men genius so exalted coupled with such will power and physical and intellectual strength and native courage.

At the age of sixteen Alexander was appointed regent of Macedonia, while Philip was away on one of his expeditions against the Byzantines, the charge of the King's seal being accorded him. During his regency he made war on the Mædi, a savage and rebellious Thracian tribe, and overcoming them in battle colonized the country with a more tractable people.

338 B. C.

In the battle of Chæronea, one of the decisive conflicts of the world, which occurred August, 338 B. C., Alexander, then eighteen years of age, commanded the left half of the Macedonian forces,

defeating the Theban army in his front, and annihilating the Sacred Band hitherto believed invincible. This accomplished, he hastened to the support of his father, who commanded the right half, and who had been hard pressed by the Athenian army in his front. After the battle in which the Macedonians were completely victorious, Philip embraced Alexander on the field, praising him for his skill and bravery and commending him to the soldiers in the most affectionate terms. Following the conflict Alexander was sent as an envoy to Athens, going thence to his own country. Philip meanwhile remained in Greece to compel the Grecians to accord him the captain-generalship of their forces on land and sea in contemplation of his proposed conquest of Persia.

After the return of Alexander and Philip to Pella, the capital of Macedonia, following the battle of Chæronea, Philip's infatuation for Cleopatra, the young and beautiful niece of the powerful noble Attalus (who was thought to aspire to the throne) led him to make her his Queen and discard Olympias, the imperious mother of Alexander. This impolitic act created many lasting hatreds at the court of Philip—already torn by bitter dissensions —some siding with the King and others with Olympias. Up to that time Philip's admiration for Alexander knew no bounds, but the latter siding with his mother (whom he treasured throughout his life

with the greatest affection), the event occasioned a growing alienation between them.

At a great banquet given by the King about the time of his marriage with Cleopatra, Attalus, in toasting Cleopatra, grossly impugned the virtue of Olympias, and expressed the hope that through the new Queen a legitimate heir to the throne would be born. This insolence Alexander resented by dashing a cup of wine in the face of the arrogant noble and favourite, at which Philip, deeply incensed, and being far gone in liquor, arose from his couch to kill the Prince, but tripping, fell to the floor in a drunken stupor. This incident further broadened the breach between Alexander and the King.

Olympias, when discarded by Philip, who had many secondary wives, retired to Epirus, where her brother was King. Alexander also sought asylum there, but stayed only a short time, going thence to Illyria. Some months afterward, a reconciliation being effected between Philip and Alexander, the latter was recalled to Macedonia. Olympias was also asked to return at the same time to be present at the marriage of her brother Alexander (King of Epirus) with her daughter, Cleopatra, by Philip; the latter hoping by such union to ally himself with the Epirot King, as a precautionary measure, preparatory to his, Philip's, contemplated absence in Asia.

334 B. C.

A great festival was held at Edessa (Ægæ) the old capital of Macedonia at this time, August 334 B. C., following a war with Illyria, to commemorate the marriage, and also to celebrate the birth of a son, Ceranus, to Philip by his new Queen, Cleopatra. Both Alexander and Olympias were present at the festival, and the latter, who was of a revengeful and savage disposition and still treasured a deadly hatred against both Philip and Cleopatra, availed herself of the King's unfortunate complaisance in permitting her to return, to aid in bringing about his murder by Pausanias, a disaffected nobleman and captain of the royal body guard. It does not appear, however, from anything known or recorded, that Alexander was privy to the murder or had any knowledge that it was contemplated; indeed, his presence unarmed at the theatre, where the assassination occurred, is proof that he was ignorant of what was to transpire.

Of the particulars surrounding Philip's death we are unfortunately lacking many details, no writer of eminence, unhappily, being present to describe the event. It appears, however, that the festival at which the Great King met his death, had a much deeper purpose than that proclaimed. Through it Philip designed that the world should be made to acknowledge Macedonia as a Grecian State and because of its strength and power, he, its King, the

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might participate in the great event, that the procession should start from the regal palace some distance away. Accordingly, at the appointed hour on the eventful morning the procession issued with stately ceremony from the King's residence, preceded by mounted troops and followed by musicians in varied and resplendent costumes. In order came the ministers of the King, the Princes of the realm, and the representatives and chiefs of the visiting states and tribes, followed by the royal pages in crimson cloaks and waving plumes. Back of these, and adding a picturesque feature to the moving scene, were borne aloft the statues of the gods of Greece, and mingling with them the image of Philip, who now for the first time publicly proclaimed himself one of their number. Behind these sacred emblems the King walked, unarmed, dressed in a robe of white, closely attended by the royal body guard whose martial bearing and resplendent uniforms added to the splendour of the spectacle.

Nearing the theatre amid the wild acclaim of the excited throng, Philip in his vanity and pride, motioned the royal guard to fall back that the view of his person might not be obstructed. Proceeding thus alone, unconscious of danger, and elated at his reception and the magnificence of the spectacle, he entered the spacious building. At this interesting moment Pausanias seeing the King's unprotected state, ran forward from the alcove where he

stood and drawing his Gallic sword buried it to the hilt in the Monarch's body! The deed accomplished the assassin sought to escape, but tripping upon a vine stalk, was overtaken and put to death.

Afterward, upon investigation of the crime, Amyntas, a royal Prince (who as an infant had been set aside when Philip took possession of the throne) and two Lyncestian brothers, Heromenes and Arrhabæus, were executed as participants in the conspiracy. Another brother implicated in the plot, known as the Lyncestian Alexander, was spared; and historians aver because he abandoned his fellow-conspirators and joined in acclaiming the new King, afterward assisting Alexander to arm himself. But more probably it was because the Lyncestian Prince was the son-in-law of Antipater, Philip's loyal and able civil governour, and afterward Alexander's trusted vice-regent while he was absent in Asia, and indeed up to the time of his—Alexander's —death.*

Attalus, a powerful and scheming noble, uncle of Cleopatra, whose intrigues had brought Macedonia to the verge of civil war, was put to death in Asia Minor (as a participant in the conspiracy) under

*This Lyncestian prince was discovered, during the progress of the Persian invasion, to have been in treasonable correspondence with the Persian King, and being tried by his companions for the traitorous offence, was condemned to death. The execution of the sentence was delayed by the King several years and only consummated when the discovery of other treasonable practices rendered further tolerance of such offences dangerous to the army and state.

secret orders from Edessa. For while it is possible Alexander might have overlooked the intrigues of the powerful noble and the fact that he was believed to be an aspirant to the throne, he could not forget, nor would he forgive, the brutal reflection publicly cast on his mother's honour by Attalus at the royal banquet already referred to.

Olympias, the discarded and implacable Queen, pursuing her vengeance, after Philip's death, cruelly mistreated Cleopatra and taking advantage of Alexander's absence—and to his great sorrow—put her to death in a most barbarous manner, some historians assert by roasting the young Queen alive, others by strangulation. Cleopatra's son by Philip, the young Prince Ceranus, put forward by his mother and her adherents while Philip was alive, as heir to the throne in place of Alexander, was condemned and executed as a political necessity shortly after the King's murder, but as to the precise manner of his death we are left in doubt. The remaining child of the unfortunate Queen, Europe, Olympias strangled on its mother's bosom, having in some manner unrecorded, gained access to Cleopatra's person.

There can be no doubt but that Pausanias was spurred on to the act of assassination by Olympias, and all historians agree that she openly gloried in the King's murder, publicly removing Pausanias' body from the cross where it had been placed by

the enraged populace, and defiantly designating the day of his death as one to be set apart and commemorated.

The Kingly house of Macedonia was established by Perdiccas (the ancestor of Alexander) in the eighth century B. C. He was a descendant of Timenus (the first Herakleid or Dorian King of Argos) who for some cause fled with his two elder brothers from his native city to Illyria, afterward crossing over into the mountain region of Macedonia. Here they established themselves, and Perdiccas, the younger of the brothers, by his bravery and address finally gained possession of the country. Having accomplished this the capital was subsequently established at Edessa, where it commanded the intercourse between the mountain districts and the then hostile regions of the East. Edessa also became the burial place of the Herakleid Kings save the last, Alexander the Great.

The city nestled in a picturesque valley sheltered on three sides by wooded mountains and watered throughout its length by a torrent that poured from the cliff at the upper end of the city as it does today. The pass—a road cut through the rock—united the districts of Upper Macedonia and the plains and, afterward, connected the countries bordering on the Adriatic in the west and Byzantium (Constantinople) in the east. In later days it served as a connecting link between Rome and her subjugated

provinces in the East. Philip of Macedon, however, on ascending the throne, anxious to further wean his subjects from the rude habits of mountain life, abandoned the ancient city and established his capital at Pella in the plains some distance to the east.

CHAPTER IV

ALEXANDER'S ACCESSION TO THE THRONE

WHEN Philip fell, struck down by the assassin Pausanias, the royal guard not knowing the nature or extent of the conspiracy, hurriedly formed a cordon of spears about Alexander, the more alert hastening to arm the young Prince. Afterward and in silence the body of Philip was borne through the streets to the regal palace, attended by Alexander and the weeping multitude. Reaching the palace, the prince was solemnly proclaimed King, the announcement being hailed with responsive cries by the citizens who filled the courtyard and adjacent streets.

At this time the kingdom of Macedonia had become, through Philip's warlike enterprise and diplomatic achievements, the foremost power of the world, and its court the most brilliant known to men save that of Darius, the Persian King. The army Philip had brought to the festival at Edessa for the purpose of impressing his savage vassals and exalted visitors from abroad, Alexander in this moment of universal distrust and fear, believed to be loyal to him as the rightful heir of the dead King. But the hour was one of menace and uncertainty, in which accusations and rumours of plots filled the

air, Alexander himself being accused by the disaffected of abetting his father's murder. Everywhere doubt and suspicion caused men to look askance at their neighbours, lest somehow they should also be implicated in the horrible conspiracy. Because of this, no one could certainly foretell the mood of Philip's invincible army, of which Amyntas, who claimed the crown, and the Lyncestian nobles and others known to be in the plot, were a part. Whispers coming, no one knew whence, averred that the soldiers were divided and of uncertain mind regarding the succession, some favouring Alexander, some another. Of the truth or falsity of these rumours, which quickly reached the young King, he determined at once to inform himself. Accordingly, mounting his war-horse, he issued forth from the gate of the regal palace amid the blare of trumpets and the exultant shouts of the multitude. At sight of the Prince, who was greatly loved by the populace, the overwrought multitude, forgetful of the tragedy of Philip's death, hailed the young King with such strength of lung and fervency of heart that the eyes of Alexander filled with tears. Removing his helmet, his long flaxen hair falling about his pale face, which still bore traces of the shock and horror of the morning, gave to his high and noble features a look of indescribable majesty, as he responded to the salutations of the people. Thus he reached the open plain beyond the city, where he

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from them, cut down from behind treacherously and without warning!

Remarking the savage mood of the waiting soldiers, Alexander, perturbed in spirit, reined in his horse, and facing the silent and expectant throng explained with sorrowing voice the events connected with Philip's death and the conspiracy preceding its execution. He joined with them in their profound grief and in that of the nation, over the irreparable loss, both as King and the son of the murdered King; but while the loss was irreparable, he proclaimed that no particle of the honour and glory of the army or nation should suffer abatement or diversion because of the change of rulers. And of the future he promised that the conquest of Persia so long anticipated and so ardently looked forward to should follow without delay or alteration of purpose.

Hearing him, the faces of the soldiers softened, for they loved the young Prince, not alone as Philip's son, but as a companion in arms, the dangers and hardships of which he had shared with them. And of his leadership they had seen proof at Chæronea where the opposing force, thought to be invincible, crumbled into dust before the charge of his victorious troops. Remembering this, the soldiers took heart and accepting his word and assurances for the future, hailed him as King.

In this way the army was won over, and he whom we know as Alexander the Great became King of Macedonia.

336 B. C.

His personal appearance at this time, in his twentieth year—336 B. C.—was pleasurable in the extreme, his exile, from which he had just returned, and the numerous conspiracies and misfortunes of which he had been the victim, having strengthened and ennobled his features, so that he had the air of being older than he was. Of imperious temper where his fixed will was thwarted, he was the most complacent of princes under other circumstances, all the world being finally agreed as to the charm of his personality; and so, too, regarding his courage and skill at arms. Of his character and personal honour, of which men indeed knew little, Darius, the King of Persia, was to have in coming years the greatest proof man can ever hope to receive from friend or foe, when Statira, his beloved Queen, said to be the most beautiful woman in the world, fell captive to Alexander's conquering army. Such was the young Prince whose tragic accession to the throne of Macedonia we have witnessed.

The people of Macedonia were a rugged, self-respecting and virile race. They were, however, said to have been over fond of wine and Philip's excesses in that direction, when not actively

employed, were so great as to excite the wonder of his countrymen. Alexander, on the contrary, as Plutarch and other unprejudiced historians point out, had no great love for wine but drank sparingly and from companionship. And in this connection it is to be remembered that there was no insuperable line of demarcation between the lives of Kings of Macedonia and the officers of their court, such as exists between king and subject in our day. The monarchs of Macedonia were always approachable by their subjects, indeed in constant and immediate association with them, the kingship being in a broad sense elective. Alexander was especially noticeable in the respect he paid those about him and in devotion to his friends and companions, delighting in their presence and conversation, and believing them incapable of disloyalty—an indulgent belief from which later in life he was to have a rude awakening.

Of the social aspects of society, Alexander thought little. He loved grave affairs, great achievements, the government of men, the marshaling and control of armies, administrative affairs and the guardianship of his country and the half-savage tribes bordering upon Macedonia. The solving of the intricate problems that the temper and needs of the polyglot population of Asia—whom he was called upon to rule as well as to conquer—caused him no apprehension or unrest. The continued obduracy

of the Greeks may be said to have been the only thing connected with his eventful life that caused him continued unhappiness and disquietude. The open country attracted and held him and it was there his life was mainly passed. He loved the stir of marching men, the tramp of horses, the bustle of the camp, the clangour of arms, the clash of conflicting forces, the cries of the soldiers as they charged in battle—the struggle of brave men to clear a way! Of the glory of the victory that followed he thought little!

The partial subjugation of the barbarous tribes bordering Macedonia on the north, east and west, and the conquest of Greece by Philip made the period one of unrest and violence. The conquest of Persia which Philip contemplated also added to the disturbed condition of the times. Piracy was common, the ships thus engaged oftentimes constituting a fleet, as in the case of the Illyrian Kings. Everywhere the country was infested with robbers and outlaws, remnants of tribes destroyed and fugitives from communities obliterated, as in the case of the Greek city of Olynthus and the neighbouring towns, sacked and burned by Philip. Savage animals, including the lion, haunted the forests and plains of Macedonia, and in quest of these, Alexander, both as a youth and ruler, found healthful diversion and the exercise of arms. Historians, indeed, are at pains to describe a remarkable encounter of his of

this nature, single-handed, with an enraged lion which he, by the dexterous use of his weapon, put to death unaided. The danger, however, was so great that at an assembly of nobles and officers it was publicly discouraged. Of Alexander's personal prowess there can be no question; no one of his time equalling him in coolness, resourcefulness, strength, and skill in the use of arms. This was evinced again and again in the battles he fought, in which he always led the Invincible Companions.

His daring and entire absence of fear were thought strange by some, for notwithstanding his dominating character, his manner when undisturbed, was gentle, his voice quiet, his skin delicate as that of a woman, and his eyes soft as those of a fawn. His appearance, however, clad in armour with high-tossing plumes, was that of a knight of the Middle Ages—that of a Captain of men, the greatest, indeed, the world has ever seen. Fair of face and form, with high and noble features, he was such a man as women love, but he himself, strange to say, and as all historians recount, was never seriously attracted by any woman save Roxana. As a man, the mighty Prince had many of the weaknesses and passions common to men of our own day; but singularly enough for a Macedonian of that elastic age, he revered women both in thought and act. Differing from Philip in this respect, his abstinence was attributed by some to his

great pride and towering ambition, but whatever the cause, it is certain that his life in this regard was the most noted and free from criticism of all the great men the world has ever known. Of high and chivalrous courage, Alexander despised artifice or evasion, preferring to attack and overcome his enemies in open conflict, as at Arbela, where the supremacy of the world was to be determined by his battle with Darius, the Persian King. In his private relations Alexander was trustful and yielding; but in grave affairs of state, imperious and all-conquering. Without fear, no danger would cause him to turn back, yet there is no instance throughout his life of any needed precaution, however trivial, being neglected that was necessary to the success of his arms or the security of those who fought beneath his standard.

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donians, being men of sense and discernment followed his lead unquestioned, content to overlook petty faults, satisfied that national growth and civic betterment would follow under such leadership.

Alexander, whose whole being responded to the clang of arms and the tramp of marching armies, confident in himself, and skilled in the affairs of government under Philip's wise tutelage, calmly pursued his way, confident of the outcome, disregardful of what men thought or said; but to the mere looker-on everything was in doubt, and in consequence, exaggerated expectation filled the hearts of his friends and contemptuous questioning that of his enemies. These last, however, as it afterward appeared, builded rather on what they desired than what they might have discerned had they studied the young Prince with unprejudiced eyes; for immediately upon becoming King, foregoing every pleasure and quitting all unimportant things, he spent his days in the camp and his nights in the cabinet, maintaining from the very outset Philip's firm discipline, and adhering with loyal fidelity to all who had faithfully served himself or his father. Thus neither the State nor the army lost in present effectiveness, while the soldiers, critically observing his industry and manifest desire to deal justly by all, grew each day more and more to love and believe in him as a leader.

Meanwhile Greece, urged on by Athens, was stirred to its utmost borders in open or covert hostility to Macedonia's further guardianship. Thessaly, hitherto friendly to Macedonia, had risen in revolt, and in concert with her neighbours, was raising an army for defence—perhaps for the invasion of the country that but yesterday caused all the world to tremble with apprehension. Athens, as usual taking the lead and indulging in much foolish talk, had gone to the extreme of offering up thanksgiving sacrifices to the gods for at last relieving the world of Philip's intolerable presence—an indignity Alexander afterward indulgently ignored. For Athens believed, as did the other cities of Greece, that with Philip's death Macedonia's strength had departed, and so believing active preparations were everywhere contemplated to deny Alexander the military guardianship of the country that had been so reluctantly accorded the old King.

Apprised of the hostile movements of the Grecian cities, Alexander was advised by his friends to make peace until his affairs were more settled, but, disregarding their advice, he responded by collecting an army, determined once the internal affairs of his Kingdom were arranged, not to await some overt act that would render conciliation difficult, but to invade Greece with a force sufficient to compel the fulfillment of his claims. Immediate action was the more urgent for the reason that the barbarians to

the west, north, and east of Macedonia, who had come to the great festival at Edessa to renew their allegiance to the mighty Philip, scarce tarried when he was dead to salute Alexander as King, but hurried away to gather their forces to resist the domination of the new Monarch. These enemies that Philip had held in subjection with an iron hand, it was apparent would become active and aggressive foes should Alexander prove less resourceful as a ruler than his predecessor on the throne. Some there were content simply to regain their lawless freedom, but others more ambitious were openly threatening the invasion of Macedonia, thinking but lightly of the new King who now wore the crown.

Such was the state of affairs when, fearing that if the Grecian agitation were allowed to bear fruit grave complications would arise and the reconquest of the country be rendered necessary, Alexander met the threatening situation by marching his army into Greece—and this to the great surprise of the Grecians who had thought he would devote some months to the reorganization of his government and the display of his new and unexpected dignity. His route lay along the west shore of the Thermaic Gulf (now the Gulf of Salonica) but on reaching the pass into Thessaly, the Wolf's mouth—which we know as the Vale of Tempe—he found it blocked by the Thessalian forces. Whereupon, and to the great surprise and wonder of men, he cut a road

through the rugged country between Mt. Ossa and the sea, a thing deemed impossible by the generals commanding the armies of the past, because of the apparently insurmountable obstacles to be overcome. In this way he reached the Thessalian plain south of Larissa in the rear of the enemy's forces, taking the latter completely by surprise. The Thessalians recognizing the situation, and the impossibility, under the circumstances, of successfully opposing the Macedonian Monarch, at once made overtures of peace; and he, being desirous above all things of avoiding a conflict with the former friends and allies of his country, met their advances with such hearty acclaim and reasonable accommodation that their hostility was disarmed and a lasting convention entered into by means of which he achieved all and more than the Thessalians had previously accorded Philip. In this way he made allies of these warlike people, and so was able to add to his force the Thessalian Horse, the most effective body of the kind known to the ancient world, save the Companions, forming a part of the Macedonian army.

Friendly relations being thus established, and his force augmented, Alexander continued his march to the south with all speed, reaching and gaining possession of the impregnable pass of Thermopylæ without opposition of any kind. Here he stayed to meet the representatives of many of the disaffected cities

of Greece, who, recognizing the futility of opposing him in the field, at once accorded him the title of Imperator, an honour they had previously conferred on Philip. Continuing his march, the Athenians, terror-stricken, fearing the capture of their city, sent humble submission and apology, and, in further propitiation, conferred upon him divine honours greater than those previously accorded his father. Graciously accepting their overtures he continued his march to Corinth, to which place all the cities save Sparta sent representatives, instructed to accord him the captain-generalship of Greece, with supreme control over their troops and maritime affairs. Everything being thus arranged to his entire satisfaction, he continued his march into the Peloponnesus, for the purpose of overawing the Spartans with the sight of his invincible army. Having accomplished this, he faced about and no way relaxing the strict discipline of his troops, made his triumphal way back to the capital of his own country. Immediately upon his return to Pella, he occupied himself fitting out his army for a campaign against the Thracians, who had declared war and were openly threatening the invasion of his country. With these brave, half-savage people, who boasted an army of two hundred thousand foot-soldiers and fifteen thousand cavalry, Philip, with his smaller but more effective force, had waged desultory war throughout his whole reign, holding

them in subjection with extreme difficulty. To complicate the situation the Illyrians, a predatory and courageous nation inured to war, were arming in the west, while the savage tribes to the north threatened Alexander from that direction.

Nothing, therefore, it was apparent, could be undertaken looking to the conquest of Persia until these unfriendly and barbarous neighbours were made to respect the power of Macedonia's new King. The Thracian situation, however, being immediate and threatening, Alexander determined to direct his arms in that direction, and everything being in readiness, he set out from Pella in April, eight months after his accession to the throne. Reaching the Nestus he followed its course to the north, finally turning to the east, and surmounting the chain of mountains that encroach upon the eastern shore of the river, he found himself at last in the enemy's country. Overawing by his array of strength, the Odryssian and other savage tribes who inhabited the extreme western borders of Thrace, the King reached Mt. Hæmus (the Balkans) upon the summit of which, and in eager expectation, a Thracian army lay, prepared to defend the seemingly impregnable mountain pass to the last. In the absence of formidable batteries, they had cunningly contrived, as a protection against direct assault, a barrier of chariots and waggons to launch against

the King's troops should his attempt to storm the narrow pass seem likely to prove successful.

In his attack Alexander deployed a body of archers to ascend the mountain-side and harass the left wing of the enemy, while he with a body of mixed troops sought to assail the Thracians on their right. Placing the Phalangites in the centre, he directed them to ascend the narrow gorge and force a passage regardless of opposition. Harassed by the Macedonian bowmen and slingers in the progress of the conflict, and being unable to stay the serried ranks of the Phalanx as it climbed the steep and narrow way, the Thracians at last in desperation loosed their heavy vehicles, shooting them down the steep defile with the force and precision of catapults. But, surmising their purpose in advance, the King had ordered the Phalangites, if such attempt should be made, to divide to the right and left and thus make an opening for the vehicles to pass, and where the width of the gorge did not permit this, to lie flat on the ground, protecting themselves with their long shields, fixed tortoise-fashion, one overlapping the other. Following his commands in this respect, the waggons plunging down the steep descent with deafening roar passed over the bodies of the soldiers, thus protected, without causing the death of a single man. When the enemy had in this way shot his final bolt, the Phalangites, springing to their feet, rushed forward with terrible cries, and

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retreat ending as night approached in the complete dispersion of their whole force.

Resuming his march to the north, Alexander reached the Ister (Danube), where he found the small ships he had previously despatched to meet him. Embarking as many of his troops as the boats would hold, he sought to carry by storm the fortified island where Syrmus, the Triballian King, had found refuge with his women and children and the remaining troops of his command. But in this Alexander was unsuccessful, the swift and treacherous current and brave defense of the barbarian King rendering the assault of the smaller force ineffective. Reluctantly withdrawing, Alexander determined to cross the great river at a point lower down, and attack the Getæ, a savage people, robbers of robbers, who had collected an army of horsemen on the north shore with the intent, if opportunity offered, of attacking the Macedonian army. Nomads of the trackless wilds, of savage and cruel disposition, they were without fear and thought to be unconquerable in battle. Improvising rafts of inflated tent skins and making use of his light vessels and the rude boats hollowed out of logs he found along the shore, the King crossed the river in the night with four thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry. Effecting a landing at an obscure spot, he formed his troops in battle array and advanced directly on the village occupied by the enemy, four miles dis-

tant. Taken by surprise, for they had not thought the passage of the river possible under the circumstances, the Getæ, after a feeble resistance, turned and fled, carrying off their wives and children on the backs of their horses. Entering the abandoned village the King razed it to the ground, and having offered sacrifices to the gods, he on the same day recrossed his army to the south bank of the river. Apprised of the strange adventure, for the passage of the great river in face of an enemy was a thing believed impossible, and demoralized by the successive victories of Alexander, Syrmus and the chiefs of the independent tribes occupying the neighbouring country, at once sent envoys to the victorious King, making submission and craving his friendship in return; and Alexander, having through the demonstration of his arms accomplished the object for which he set out, received the envoys graciously, granting them all and more than they craved.

While resting his forces in the Thracian wilds after the campaign, envoys from the Gallic tribes were led through curiosity and interest to pay Alexander's camp a visit of ceremony. This greatly pleased the young King and he received them with notable distinction because of their noble bearing and wide renown for courage in battle. Afterward discoursing with them on the affairs of life at a great banquet which graced the ceremonies, he asked with amiable interest what their people most

feared, if, indeed, they knew fear of any kind, the King probably having in mind that the mountain peasantry of his own country feared nothing on earth except a—dead man! Lifting up their voices in answer, the Gauls cried out with great earnestness that their only fear was lest the sky should fall upon them! Hearing them Alexander remarked, "What pride these kelts have."

NOTE: In describing this incident of the camp, the historian, Grote,—quoting some prior writer—asserts that Alexander was much chagrined at the answer of the Gauls, thinking they would have said that they feared only him—he, a youth of twenty, engaged in his first hazardous campaign! What Alexander thought in the wilds of Thrace, it is manifest no one could have known, yet this writer, voicing others of like temper, does not hesitate to interpret his mind and as in many cases, with a view to his belittlement. Grote, who was intensely democratic in his sympathies, disliked Alexander, and in his imperfect account of him enters fully into all the narrow prejudices and short-sighted conceptions of the Greeks. His unfairness is noticeable and his account of the Gallic incident and his unreliability generally regarding Alexander I notice only because his history has a place in our libraries and schools; and this properly enough in regard to that part of it relating to Greece Proper. But his account of the Great Conqueror is a tissue of misleading statements and studied omission of facts necessary to a proper understanding of Alexander's character and deeds. This is regrettable for the reason that many writers accept what he says without question because of the repute which his general history of Greece has attained. The great English historian was an intense lover of the Greeks and entered heartily into their hatred and distrust of Philip and Alexander and everything he has to say is distorted thereby. The two hundred and odd pages he devoted to his account of Alexander is believed to contain more misrepresentations, distorted statements, scandalous innuendos, and malicious omissions than any thousand pages of history ever written by a man in other respects so creditable as this great writer. But because of the general excellence of his history of Greece, many writers blindly accept what he says of Alexander, having apparently neither the time nor the inclination to inquire into the facts for themselves. Grote accepted everything any writer had to say discreditable to Alexander, adding much to the burden of slander on his own account. In corroboration of his stories and exaggerations he loaded down his history of the Great Conqueror with so-called authorities that mean nothing,

according the emanations of writers whose statements are everywhere accepted with distrust or open discredit the same conspicuous honour that he did others of undisputed integrity.

It is unfortunate that Grote did not end his history with the Battle of Chæronea or the death of Philip of Macedon. Indeed so unfair and prejudiced is his account of Alexander that it gave rise at the time to the improbable story that he was induced by his publishers against his own judgment to thus continue his history! It is quite possible that he was not consciously dishonest; simply a radical democrat, viewing everything that related to Philip of Macedon and Alexander and their policies with the intolerable prejudices and passions of a citizen of Athens. For this reason and others that might be noted, unprejudiced writers—and admirers of Grote's Grecian history—have pointed out to students that they will be wise to close Grote's history with the death of Philip and seek elsewhere an account of Alexander's life and deeds.

CHAPTER VI

THE ILLYRIAN CAMPAIGN

WHILE Alexander was in conference with the barbaric chieftains of the northeast and reorganizing and resting his army after the Thracian campaign, news was brought him that Illyria—now known as Albania—had openly declared war against Macedonia. In no way surprised, for of this he had felt assured before leaving Pella, he at once put his army in motion, directing its course by hurried marches straight for the new and formidable enemy in the far west. Traversing the wilderness of mountains and trackless wastes, now known as modern Servia, he reached the northern borders of his own kingdom to find the savage tribes occupying the adjacent country—urged on by Illyria—congregated to harass and delay his progress. In this dilemma, the young Agrianian King, Langarus, with whom he had previously contracted ties of friendship, engaged to hold in control the threatening tribes and thus leave him free to continue his hurried march.

In this way Alexander happily escaped the grave peril that threatened—of aggressive enemies in his front and on his flank and rear—leaving him free to overcome the natural obstacles that impeded his

progress in the mountainous regions to the west. In his march as was characteristic of him in all his campaigns, he paid little attention to beaten roads when by taking a shorter cut, however uninviting, he might gain time and in that way come upon his enemy unprepared. In his hurried march to the Illyrian frontier, he was compelled to ford rivers, climb mountains and traverse wastes hitherto believed impossible for an army to achieve. But riding back and forth by day and night, along the long line of marching troops, and sharing with them the hardships of the common soldiers, he so encouraged his army that nothing could retard its progress. And when, as frequently happened, physical obstacles intervened, he was, by his presence, able to bring to bear every resource of the army in surmounting the difficulties of the situation. Thus the hindrances so often occasioned, in the movements of armies, by the jealousies or incompetence of officers and the delays inseparable from a divided authority, vanished in the concurrent and cheerful help of every officer and man. This energy and alertness that never tired nor slackened endeared him beyond measure to his followers arising as it manifestly did from a desire, apart from the object to be attained, to share in every danger and labour in which others were called upon to take a part. In such unceasing labours—for his campaigns followed each other with little or no interlude—may be

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the heights that commanded the valley in which he lay, and the narrow path he must traverse in order to reach a place of security.

In this situation the Macedonian army being cut off from all sources of supply, the King despatched a body of cavalry to forage in the neighbouring fields, but these being attacked by the enemy were with great difficulty finally rescued by the King, who went in person to their relief. The situation of the Macedonian army was now desperate, and the purpose of the campaign and the hopes of the King seemingly gone astray. In front the great fortress frowned, and from the heights that encircled the army an alert enemy threatened at every point. Only in the rear lay safety, and to reach it the army must traverse a narrow pass on one side of which lay an impassable river, and on the other a precipice, from the summit of which the enemy threatened the annihilation of any force attempting the dangerous passage. And beyond the pass, ere the army could reach a place of safety—as if the danger were insurmountable—the turbulent mountain stream must be forded at a point commanded, like the gorge, by the enemy's forces from the heights above.

No commander in ancient or modern times, it is probable, ever faced a situation more perplexing or fraught with greater danger, but here, as in every situation of peril, the genius of Alexander finally

triumphed. Calmly marshalling his army where it lay, in the deep valley under the watchful eyes of the Illyrians who threatened him from the fortress and surrounding heights, he manœuvered his forces in battle array as if on parade, with no enemy near. Advancing one moment as if to charge, he drew his troops back, repeating the movement in another direction, and so on throughout the day, parading his cavalry on the flanks and putting the Phalanx through its incomparable manual, as if determined in mere wantonness to reveal every secret of his matchless tactics. At first the enemy was all alert, fearing an attack, but as the movements continued hour after hour, with no seeming purpose save vain display, they gradually relaxed their vigilance, looking on at last with idle and contemptuous interest merely. Seeing this, the King suddenly launched the Phalanx, wedge-shaped, with irresistible force against the heights from whence the Illyrians guarded the pass he must traverse to gain a place of safety. Surprised and overwhelmed by the quick and savage onslaught, the enemy fell back, upon which Alexander, taking instant advantage of their confusion, drew off his army in safety. But not without strenuous opposition, for as soon as the Illyrians awoke to the attack and its purpose they gathered in renewed strength to regain their position above the pass; and this with such determination and courage that the King was at last

compelled to lead a charge against them in person, in which he was twice wounded.

Thus at last the army, through the King's ingenuity and courage, was freed from the danger of surprise or overwhelming onslaught, and in a situation to obtain the supplies of which it stood in such sore need. Secure in his position, the King waited and watched, determined not to return to Pella until he had regained possession of the fortress of Pelion, the Illyrian gateway of his country, which Philip had captured and strengthened at great cost of men and money. While the army waited, and the King was busied with plans to accomplish his purpose, word was brought him by his spies in the middle of the night that the Illyrians, believing the Macedonian force to be hopelessly demoralized and only waiting opportunity to retreat, had abandoned themselves to drunkenness and disorderly array in their great delight over the victory they had achieved. Apprised of the situation, and alive to the opportunity it afforded, the King instantly put himself at the head of his light troops, giving orders for the main force to follow as fast as possible. Enjoining complete silence, and with muffled arms, the army traversed the narrow pass, the turbulent river on one side and on the other the towering cliff black as night, looming like a pall above their heads. In this way, and in silence, Alexander leading his troops passed through the narrow defile, reaching

at last the valley where the Macedonian army had lain entrapped, and in which the enemy were now encamped. The news that his spies had brought him of the enemy's demoralization and loose array he now saw confirmed by the light of the dying camp fires. Ordering the trumpet to sound the charge, the soldiers, enraged and humiliated by their past discomfiture, responded with such fury and noisy clamour that the terrified Illyrians, aroused from their seeming security, surprised and confused, made little effort to defend themselves, but sought instant safety in the fastnesses of the surrounding mountains. Following the flight of his troops, the Illyrian King hastily abandoned Pelion after setting fire to the great fortress. In the negotiations that followed, he gratefully accepted Alexander's proffer of friendship, and the liberal terms offered him. Thus the war was brought to an end and a lasting peace effected.

CHAPTER VII

DESTRUCTION OF THEBES

THE victory over the Illyrians, wrested from an apparently hopeless situation, quelled the last note of discord in the barbarous states bordering upon Macedonia, leaving Alexander free to pursue his invasion of Persia. Thus it appeared to the expectant army and the King, but while waiting to complete the peace with the Illyrian monarch, a courier reached Alexander bringing the disconcerting news that the Bœotian city of Thebes had revolted and was besieging the Kadmea, a strong fortress occupied by Macedonian troops on the edge of the city. It further appeared that, excited by the courageous act, all Greece was again in uproar, ready to make common cause against the hateful and ever growing power of the north. In excuse, if indeed excuse were needed, it was reported that Alexander was dead, and the captain-generalship accorded him at Corinth, therefore no longer binding on any one. The report found ready credence, for nothing whatever of an authentic nature had been heard of the King since his departure for Thrace four months before. And to confirm the story and further encourage the revolt, Demosthenes opportunely brought forward a man who swore he had seen

Alexander killed before the walls of Pelion, exhibiting at the same time wounds he claimed to have received in the encounter. Afterward, when it was proclaimed that Alexander was still alive, it was explained that a new King of the same name had assumed the crown upon the other's death. Thus everything for the moment seemed to favour the uprising, and the Thebans, hastily convoking their Assembly, reappointed the ancient governours of the city, exiling or cruelly putting to death those friendly to the Macedonian rule. Successful revolt thus seemingly assured, and the Macedonian army being three hundred miles away, Greece lifted up its voice in active sympathy, many of the cities promising aid to the sturdy Thebans in their patriotic effort. But suddenly, in the midst of the plotting and universal rejoicing, the Thebans were surprised and terrified by the unexpected appearance of Alexander and his army beneath the walls of the revolting city! Then it appeared that immediately upon hearing of the Theban outbreak the King had set his army in motion, directing its course by forced marches straight for the disaffected city; and, disregarding the beaten road, had chosen a shorter way, taking his course by little known paths through the forests and rugged passes of western Macedonia. Skirting the heights of Pindus and its deep defiles, he followed the higher course of the Haliacmon and its many tributaries to the south-

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east, crossing at last the Cambunian Mountains into friendly Thessaly. Inciting his troops to unexampled effort by his presence and encouragement, he reached the Pass of Thermopylæ before his presence was suspected by his enemies and having gained possession of this impregnable position, through the rapidity and secrecy of his movements, he was again master of Greece.

Up to the hour of his startling and unexpected appearance outside the walls of Thebes, every one had believed that before any new campaign could be undertaken by the Macedonian King, if one were attempted, he must of necessity first visit his capital from which he had been so long absent. And so, while all eyes were directed toward Pella, Alexander, traversing the little known and seemingly insurmountable mountainous country to the northwest, burst like a thunderbolt on his terrified enemies. Anxious to avoid a conflict with the Thebans Alexander established his camp at Onchestus, six miles away, where he patiently waited for the city to send representatives to explain its action and renew its oath of fealty. But no overtures reaching him, he moved his camp near the northern gate of the city, still hopeful of a peaceful solution of the difficulty. The Thebans, insensible to their danger and attributing his hesitancy to timidity or weakness, suddenly threw open their gates and attacked his army with savage fury. In this emergency,

Alexander contented himself with driving the Theban forces back within the walls, but being now doubtful of a peaceful solution of the question, he moved his army to the south of the city, near the Kadmea in which the Macedonian garrison was still shut up, idle spectators of what was occurring. Here he again waited, desirous of avoiding a conflict, but fruitlessly it appeared, for mistaking his forbearance the Thebans became each day more insolent in their behaviour, losing no opportunity to harass and revile his troops.

Such was the situation of affairs when the King caused word to be sent the Theban Assembly that if the two who instigated the revolt, and had caused the unoffending Macedonians to be put to death, were delivered up to him, he would freely accord pardon to all others on their renewing the pledge made at Corinth. In response, the Assembly made proclamation, inviting all who, like themselves, believed Greece should be free, to join in putting down the Macedonian power; and following this the inhabitants mounted the walls scoffing and deriding the King's power, bidding him rather deliver his generals, Antipater and Philotas, into their hands than ask aught of them. Meanwhile the delay in pressing the siege and the obduracy of the Thebans had greatly enraged the Macedonian soldiery who were unable to understand the reason of the King's continued hesitancy. For to the Macedonian army

it had always been enough that an armed enemy was in its front to cause the trumpet to sound and the charge to be made; or, if there were delay, it was only such as might be necessary to form a plan of battle or gain some advantage of position. So it had been before, and so it was afterward, but now, and unaccountably to his soldiers, the King waited and dallied, loath, it was apparent, to begin the conflict. While the army thus chafed under the restraint imposed upon it, the storming of the city was unexpectedly occasioned by an accident, a thing always likely to occur under circumstances so constrained. The conflict in this instance was precipitated by the efforts of Perdiccas, the Macedonian officer who commanded the extreme front, to effect certain strategical changes he thought necessary for the safety of his force. And this he would have achieved without bringing on a general conflict had it not been for the intense irritation of the Macedonian forces. Resting uneasily on their arms, ugly of mood, and seeing in the general's measures an excuse, they charged the enemy contrary to orders, the troops in front rushing forward supported by the enraged soldiers in their rear. The advance, however, meeting with strong resistance, and the outcome fraught with possible disaster to the whole army, Alexander ordered up his light troops as a support to those engaged, holding the Phalanx in reserve. Continuing their attack with

furious energy the enraged Macedonians finally overcame the enemy in their immediate front, whereupon the Thebans retreated into the city through a hollow way that dipped beneath the wall. Seeing them fly the King's troops in immediate pursuit followed as far as the Temple of Herakles, but here, being fiercely assailed in turn, they were compelled to fall back beyond the outer wall. Following the retreating column, the Thebans, exultant over their success, assailed the Macedonians without the gates with renewed courage, but presently falling into some disorder, the King's troops taking advantage of the confusion charged the disordered body, and being successful followed on after the enemy as it retreated into the doomed city. Beset now from within and without the fortress, the Theban force that still fought before the gates, being unable longer to hold the enemy at bay, retired in disorder, closely pursued by Alexander's soldiers. Meanwhile the Macedonian garrison, so long shut up in the Kadmea, finding egress through the dispersion of the Theban forces, also charged the enemy; and the conflict being now general the Macedonian bowmen and slingers rushed forward, showering missiles from every quarter upon those who defended the walls of the city. In this way the contest continued, no Theban yielding, and when at last all hope was gone, they still fought on, singly and in groups, neither asking nor giving quarter.

Thus the capture of the ancient city with its inhabitants was effected, only a small body of Thracian cavalry effecting their escape.

In the prolonged assault and subsequent massacre six thousand Thebans were slain, and of those remaining alive thirty thousand were sold into slavery, the city being afterward razed. No one was spared save those connected with the Temples or with whom the kings of Macedonia had formed ties of friendship and hospitality—except only the descendants of the poet Pindar. In explanation of this horror, unexampled in Grecian history, it seems that Alexander in his understanding with his Grecian allies—who aided in the capture of the stronghold—had agreed to leave the disposition of the city and its inhabitants to their discretion.* Unfortunately for the Thebans the allies of Alexander proved to be the aggrieved and revengeful inhabitants of nearby districts, each one of which had in the past been overrun and despoiled by Theban armies. Of these grievances, however, Alexander had, it is probable, no prior knowledge—they having been events of local occurrence and remote date—nor of the reparation to be exacted by them from their ancient enemy. But now having the power and acting in unison and in revenge, the

*The participants, with Alexander's army, in the siege of Thebes, were the Orchomenians, Platæans, Thispians, Phocisians, and other Greeks unfriendly to the Thebans.

aggrieved allies decreed the total destruction of the stronghold and the enslavement of its men, women and children. This delegation of power by Alexander and the cruel use made of it by the allies was afterward a never ending source of regret and humiliation to him, so that it was said that no favour that could be asked of him by a Theban was ever refused.

Following the destruction of Thebes, Alexander continued his march to Corinth, where the Amphictyonic Council being again convened, accorded him the office of captain-general (as before) of the land and sea forces of Greece—save those of stubborn Sparta, which city still stood out. This accomplished, he returned to Pella with his victorious army. On the way home, his mind filled with the coming invasion of Persia, which local opposition now no longer hindered, he made his way to Delphos to gather from the oracle if he might, some light on the probable success of his great undertaking; a respect every Greek paid to the gods when entering upon any new or hazardous enterprise. Reaching the sacred Shrine on a day when the oracle according to established usage was silent, he is said to have sought out the priestess in her retirement and begged that she would favour him with an immediate answer to his petition. Upon her declining, he continued his importunities until at last irritated by her obduracy, he took hold of her as if to

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CHAPTER VIII

CAUSES THAT MADE THE CONQUEST OF PERSIA A POLITICAL NECESSITY

BEFORE describing the invasion of Persia it will help to a clear understanding of the subject to give a brief account of the harassing relations that had existed for centuries between Greece—including Macedonia—and the Persian empire and that rendered the conquest of the latter country a political necessity. These relations, sometimes attended with open war, and always, by Persia, with covert intrigue and corrupting influences, had their origin two centuries before when Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian empire, leaving the heart of his kingdom, marched to the far west in pursuit of Crœsus, the Lydian king. This unhappy monarch, fabled for his riches, he overcame and carried away captive, acquiring at the same time his possessions bordering on the Grecian Sea. Although the conquest of Cyrus extended no farther than the overrunning of Crœsus' kingdom, the ambitious monarch was made clearly aware for the first time of the rich and populous Grecian cities that adorned the western coast of Asia Minor like a string of glistening pearls. These the Persians overran and occupied, but beyond the Grecian Sea and far more to be

desired, they, as time passed, craved Greece itself, the glorious mother of these enterprising cities. For Persia, ever greedy of land, to know was to desire, and so the subjugation of Greece became the thought by day and the dream by night of the rulers of the Persian empire—an empire that had its origin and growth in the subjugation of surrounding nations.

But there were many countries to be overrun and conquered by Cyrus and his son Cambyses, and so it was not until the coming of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and the greatest of the Persian monarchs, save Cyrus, that anything of an aggressive nature was undertaken against Greece. This king, smarting under his defeat by the Scythian nomads north of the Danube whom he had thought to subjugate, and impatient of the limit thus put to his empire in the west, determined to send an army into Greece to effect its conquest. Landing on Grecian soil, a few miles from Athens, it was courageously met and overcome, as history recounts, by the Greeks in the great and memorable battle of Marathon. This humiliating defeat, however, instead of teaching Persia wisdom and prudence only embittered its court and so upon Xerxes coming to the throne, that monarch determined to invade the country with an army so overwhelming that resistance would be unavailing. In pursuance of this he crossed the Hellespont and entered Greece

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400 B. C.

Glorified by their victory, the Grecians, however, did not meditate reprisals of any kind until the Retreat of the ten thousand Greeks from the heart of Persia, 400 B. C.—as recounted by Xenophon—disclosed the internal weakness of the Persian empire. From that moment, however, the conquest of the perfidious country became a fixed purpose, to be at last set in motion by Agesilaus, the brave and enterprising Spartan monarch; and this with every prospect of successful issue until the invading king was compelled to hurriedly return to his own country to quell the contentions of the Grecian states, fostered and precipitated by Persian gold, in which strife Sparta had become unhappily involved. These internal dissensions, fostered and kept alive by Persia became thereafter a perpetual hindrance to further thought of conquest, until the coming of Philip of Macedon, whose fixed determination to invade Persia was frustrated by his untimely death.*

After the flight of Xerxes, and the destruction of the forces with which he had invaded Greece,

*In the war of Xerxes with Greece, it is noticeable that the internal dissensions of the Greeks (fostered by Persia) at Salamis and in the battle of Platæa very nearly brought the Greek cause to destruction. The catastrophe was avoided not so much by the patriotic efforts of the Grecians as the lack of courage and coördinate effort upon the part of the Persians. It was only at Thermopylæ and Marathon that the Greeks reflected resplendent glory upon their country—Thermopylæ being the glory of Sparta as Marathon was that of Athens.

Persia made no further armed demonstrations against the country; intrigue and corrupt methods taking their place. Thus if at any time Sparta showed predominating strength—that if left unchecked might ultimately threaten Persia—Athens and perhaps Thebes, were subsidized and strengthened in opposition by the Persian king. When, on the other hand, the power of Athens expanded to threatening proportions, succour was sent to Sparta or wherever it was likely to prove potential in weakening the strength of the Athenians. And when all Greece was filled with despondency and apprehension, the enmities of the cities were recalled and their distrust and hatred of each other heightened by small cash donatives to mercenary leaders, from the Persian treasury. But these corrupting influences being always under cover, the Grecians were ever in doubt as to the motive back of the speech and acts of their leaders; whether what they heard and saw arose from patriotic impulses or was dictated by some sordid motive furthered by Persian gold. It fell out because of this that they knew not whom to trust and in consequence, necessary and prudential measures were oftentimes held in abeyance or frittered away. Moreover, when internal strife arose, no one could be sure of the real cause of the rupture, or its motive and because of this, patriotic impulses and

ambitions were silenced or rendered ineffective by doubt and indecision.

Macedonia, being poor and of little account, was overrun and roughly handled from the very earliest period of Persian enterprise in the west, but when that rugged and isolated country under the wise and vigorous rule of Philip, began to loom on the horizon as a great and growing power, then the gold of Persia was scattered broadcast through Greece in an effort—all too successful—to discredit him with the Grecian people and otherwise render his efforts ineffective. Thus he was harassed and his measures delayed and his cause oftentimes rendered doubtful of success up to the decisive battle of Chæronea. But when at last he was free to invade Persia, he was as we have seen, struck down by the assassin, Pausanius. And in this crime the Persian ruler, little anticipating the coming of a greater king than Philip, openly proclaimed he had borne an active part! With the fall of Philip, Darius, deeming his country safe and thinking but lightly of the young and untried king who had succeeded to the Macedonian throne, shut off the hitherto abundant supply of Persian gold, leaving the Athenians and other Greeks to adopt such measures as they thought necessary for their own protection.

However, upon Alexander's displaying unsuspected and threatening vigour, Persia's fear revived

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tiny. On ascending the throne his country could hope for peace only through immediate and successful war. Its existence indeed, depended thereon. And when the hostile nations bordering on Macedonia had been quieted, nothing could be said to be permanent so long as Persia's intrigue and vast wealth remained to stimulate the hatred and arm the enemies of his country. So that whatever may have been his desires on assuming the grave responsibilities of government, he had no choice. War was imperative and being of necessity long continued became more and more a natural element of his life. Moreover, it was only by permanent domination that neighbourly relations with Persia could be made to take the place of ancient enmities and corrupting influences; only by such means could men of diverse natures and interests be made to live in peace and harmony with each other. Unhappily, the war of self preservation that commenced with the opening of Alexander's reign remained incomplete in results at the end of his short and eventful life. But the gain had been great and lasting, opening a way as it did for friendly intercourse with the vast empire of Persia, hitherto closed to the culture and industrial and commercial enterprise of the west.

CHAPTER IX

ALEXANDER'S DEPARTURE FOR ASIA

335-334 B. C.

HAVING through his successful campaigns quieted the countries that threatened Macedonia on all her borders, Alexander spent the winter of 335-4 B. C., in perfecting the internal affairs of his own country and in making such changes in the organization of his army as the proposed invasion of Persia rendered necessary. And happily and in furtherance of this, his recent achievements in the field had made him the idol of the warlike nation of Macedonia and more especially of the people of Pella among whom he had grown to manhood and in such intimacy of life that they looked upon all he did or contemplated as if they themselves had planned it. But the vastness and uncertainty of the Persian invasion that loomed before their young war-lord, now that it was immediate and pressing, was viewed by his subjects with mingled pride and dire forebodings. Accordingly on the day set apart for his departure—the army having already gone forward—the country was in tears, and throughout the capital and beyond its walls, in the verdant plains and amid the secluded valleys and mountain solitudes, there were silence and mourning. For the

great and hazardous event, so long foreshadowed, was at last a thing ordained, and because of it women wept for husbands and sweethearts, and fathers and mothers for their sons gone with the standards, their faces turned toward the unknown country of the east. Not lightly did they grieve, as in past years when some nearby conflict disturbed the nation, but as for something unknown and terrible; the swallowing up of loved ones in a distant war, the length and vicissitudes of which no one could foretell.

Those who went considered it lightly, their minds filled with visions of new countries to be seen and strange adventures to be encountered; and of the glory to be acquired, who could tell! Thinking thus, they had marched away with clanking armour to the sound of flute and fife, swallowed up in the smoky plain, while those left behind watched their departure from the battlements of Pella with beating hearts and streaming eyes. A hated country was to be overrun and conquered, all knew, but of its untold riches, and vast stores of gold that its parsimonious kings had hoarded for centuries, and that now in the desperate emergency of the imperiled state its sovereign still foolishly withheld, they little dreamed. Nor could they foresee that the obscure and impoverished nobles of Macedonia would be honoured and enriched beyond all belief, and that the common soldiers would be accorded largesses by

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come by their sorrowing faces and tear-dimmed eyes; but the guard presently having cleared a path, he went forward with scarce room for his horse, so closely did the people press upon him. Crowding the adjacent streets and from the windows and house-tops, wherever a glimpse might be caught of the departing King, people waited in silence, intently watching, thinking themselves fortunate if they but caught a glimpse of the moving spectacle. And beyond, on the summit of the walls, men and women stood with strained faces eagerly watching as the King with bowed head and clouded eyes emerged from the great gate of the city and going slowly forward was at last lost to sight in the distant plain.

Such was the sorrow as we gather from the meagre accounts we have of the occurrence, that filled the hearts of Alexander's countrymen as they viewed his departure. For belief in him had now become an abiding faith, a faith, filled with love and admiration destined to continue to grow throughout his life, which, following his departure from Pella, was, indeed, to be passed wholly in Asia. During this period of twelve years of waiting and watching —when oftentimes no word of him reached his country for months—it is proof of the love the people bore him that no hint of disloyalty or criticism of his acts ever found countenance in Macedonia, each year increasing the fervour with which

the inhabitants regarded their warlike King. And when in the course of time old and crippled soldiers returned from the seat of war, the country welcomed and treasured them as heroes, and as the need arose, sent other and more vigorous men to replace them in the ranks. And so it continued to the end, the King finding solace and encouragement throughout his war-worn life in the abiding love and devotion of his countrymen.

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battles but had of necessity to find its sustenance in the country conquered, as the war chest of the King at the time of his setting out from Pella consisted, according to Aristobulus, of only seventy talents, or about eighty thousand dollars.

Alexander's army:

1	The Companions	1,800
2	The Phalanx, long spear bearers	9,000
3	The Hypaspists, Foot Companions and royal guards.....	3,000
4	The Thessalian Cavalry.....	1,200
5	Light Infantry, bearing small shield, sword and spear; a metal belt protected the abdomen	12,000
6	Slingers, Darters and Bowmen.	6,000
7	Dragoons—light cavalry	2,200
8	Troops, awaiting Alexander in Asia Minor and composed of the different classes of soldiers enumerated above, but of the number of each we have no details	5,000
	Total, ...	40,200

As the war progressed this force was sometimes increased, at other times lessened, or changed as experience suggested or the need arose. It was, how-

ever, constantly replenished with cavalry from Macedonia and Thessaly and Macedonian soldiers and hardy hillmen from Greece, the old and broken being sent home from time to time where provision was made for their comfort and maintenance. Contingents of native, Persian, troops were also added to the army as the conquest progressed.

Before describing the different classes of soldiers, a brief description of the arms and armour of Alexander will be interesting. These, surprising as it may appear to those not familiar with such matters, were similar to those of Richard Cœur de Lion, fifteen hundred years later, except that chained mail had meanwhile been substituted for the scale armour of earlier times. The latter, as its name denotes, was made of metal plates overlapping each other, and while effective as a defense lacked somewhat the delicate pliancy of the linked mail of Richard. Underneath the Prince's cuirass of iron he wore a suit of doeskin, his hands being encased in steel-plated gauntlets. A broad baldric, fastened at the waist by a stout belt, supported his straight, two-edged sword of tempered steel. Untanned boots of deerskin covered his feet, and over these and about his lower limbs grooved anklets of iron served as a protection. A gorget of mail composed of scale armour of tempered steel, protected his neck and throat, and above this a glistening helmet of polished iron inlaid with brass served as a cover

and protection to his head. Hinged to the casque, and projecting from his forehead, a visor completely covered and protected his face, while from out his shining helmet on either side protruded plumes of milk-white ostrich feathers, which in the turmoil of battle, like his glistening buckler, marked his presence and cheered his followers. His arms consisted of a straight two-edged sword, four feet in length and a shield and thrusting-pike or spear. In complement to the iron-clad rider, scale armour protected the front and flanks of Bucephalus, the world-famed horse Alexander rode in every battle.* Alexander, however, seems to have varied his defensive armour according to his mood and at the great and decisive battle of Arbela he substituted for his breastplate of iron, one of quilted linen, a frail defense seemingly in so desperate a hand to hand conflict. In the battle of Issus, strangely enough, he is depicted as fighting without helmet or visor—bareheaded.

*We get an unexpected light on Philip of Macedon in the purchase of this horse for his son, paying therefor $14,950.00. It shows at once his great love for Alexander and his high appreciation of a good horse.

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THE COMPANIONS OR BROTHERS-IN-ARMS OF THE KING

The Companions of Alexander may be said to have been the prototypes of the knights of the Middle Ages who followed the western kings to battle. Each Companion was attended by a servant or squire and in this respect as in warlike skill and chivalrous courage corresponded to the knights of later days. It was at the head of this corps of incomparable horsemen that Alexander opened every battle, he leading the charge in person. They, with the phalanx, were the decisive factors in every great contest. The Companions consisted of three thousand men, divided into companies or iles of two hundred, and were made up of nobles and landed gentry—the pick of the nation. From it and the pages—sons of princes and lords—in attendance upon the King, the officers and officials of the state were mainly recruited. One and all are represented to have had an enlightened education and polite and effective training—such indeed as fitted them for positions of political importance and activity. The Companions' accoutrements, like those of Alexander, were a straight two edged sword four feet in length, shield and thrusting-pike or spear. They wore helmets and were clad throughout in scale armour as shown in the illustration. The name, Companions, indicated their confidential relation to the King and the absolute trust he reposed in them. The Thessalian cavalry, made up largely of the aristocracy of Thessaly and forming a part of the army of invasion, was little inferior to the Companions in courage and endurance.

THE COMPANIONS

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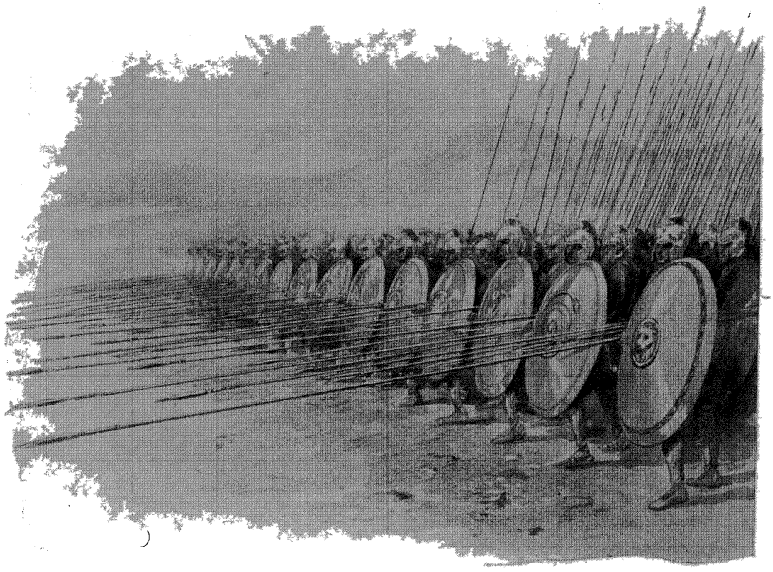
THE PHALANX OR PEZETÆRI—LONG SPEAR BEARERS

This remarkable corps was sometimes called foot companions of the King. His affection for and trust in them was unbounded because of their courage and effective force in battle. They numbered in all about sixteen thousand men and were divided into small units and multiples thereof, up to a regiment of one thousand and a brigade of four thousand. When marshalled on the field, no opposing force could resist their onslaught or find an opening in their firm array. Their defensive armour consisted of a shield sufficient to cover the body when kneeling, helmet, breastplate, and greaves to protect their legs. Their offensive weapons were a short and straight cut-and-thrust sword and a spear (sirissa) twenty-one feet long. The spears of the front ranks projected, as shown in the illustration on the opposite page, those following held their weapons aloft. The butt of the spear was weighted and was held six feet from the end thereof. The weight of the weapon it will be seen required men of unusual vigour and strength. Slaves attended the phalanx to lighten the severe burdens of the soldiers on the march. As already noticed, the Phalanx with the Companions decided every great battle in which they were engaged.



THE PHALANX

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THE HYPASPISTS, OR SHIELD BEARING GUARDS

This corps was made up of high grade men of good ancestry, their service being voluntary. They held the position of honour next to the Phalanx, except the limited and highly favoured number that served as the royal foot guard of the King. They wore full suits of armour and were armed with a one handed pike, sword and large shield. Their great mobility and high courage fitted them for active evolutions and the rough and tumble struggle of man to man or hand to hand fighting. They were especially effective in overcoming obstacles at fords, mountain passes and elsewhere where the Companions and Phalanx were not available.

THE HYPASPISTS

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THE MISCELLANEOUS OR AUXILIARY TROOPS

The miscellaneous or auxiliary troops that formed a part of Alexander's army were made up mainly of bowmen, slingers, darters (javelin throwers) and light armed men on foot and horseback, as shown by the illustrations on the opposite page. Some of the light horsemen were also trained to fight on foot. A limited number of nomads or primitive warriors, picked men from Thrace, and other half savage countries were also used. The bowmen, slingers and darters possessed astonishing precision in projecting their missiles, many being so skilled as to be able to use either the right or left hand. They were generally employed to open a battle, running forward and harassing the foe with their projectiles in an attempt to throw the enemy into confusion. After this service, they retired between the battalions of the advancing ranks of the main army, serving afterward, however, throughout the battle as they could be made available. The Bible speaks of seven hundred darters, and left handed slingers belonging to the Hebrew army who could cut a hair extended at a distance as a mark. King David, as a youth must have possessed similar skill with the sling as his seemingly unequal encounter with Goliath indicates.

MISCELLANEOUS OR AUXILIARY TROOPS

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THE BALLISTA

The Ballista was an ingenious device of the Phœnicians for throwing stones and other missiles and corresponded to the mortar in use today. In construction, as shown by the illustration on the opposite page, it consisted of a strong wooden arm, the free end, which held the missile, being shaped like a bowl. When the arm was released the projectile flew forward and upward. The machine could throw a projectile weighing four hundred pounds and this with great force and precision. The missiles consisted of stones, red hot balls, fire pots, or other devices, as the case required. The barbarians sometimes used the Ballista to hurl infected corpses into cities they were besieging for the purpose of creating a pestilence. Alexander made as free use of this engine of war as we do of artillery.

THE BALLISTA

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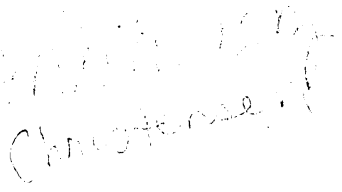
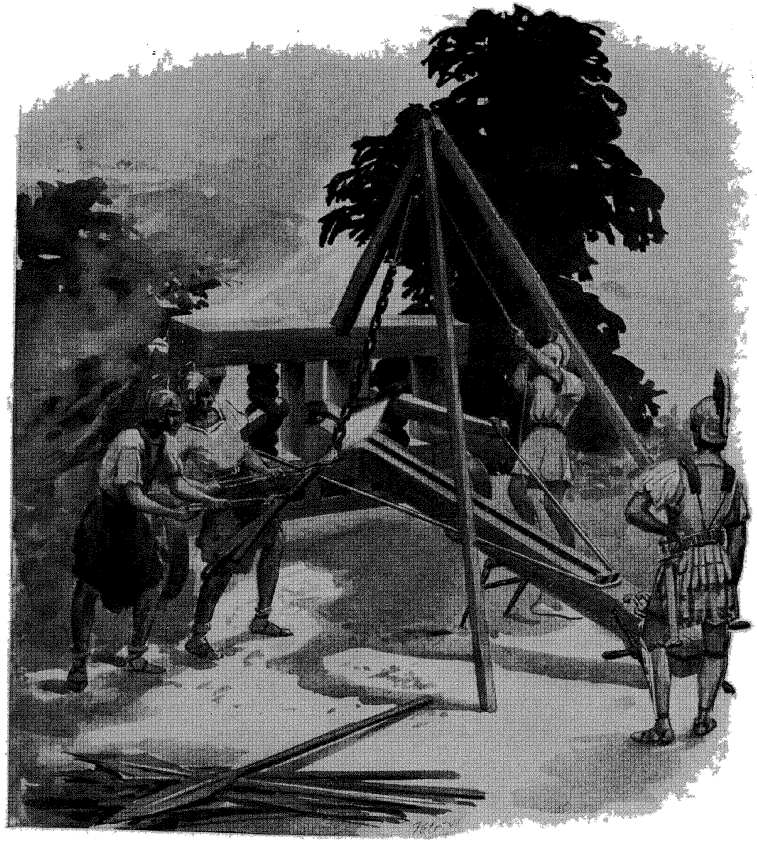
THE CATAPULT

The Catapult was mounted on a platform, its propelling force being a cord or rope attached to the arms of the bow. The cord was tightened by a windlass or lever and released by a spring, the missile being an iron pointed arrow, weighing from twenty to five hundred pounds. It was of Syrian invention and has been called the cannon of the ancients and would carry half a mile, and accurately up to a distance of four hundred paces. Some of the machines were designed to cast leaden bullets instead of metal pointed arrows. Alexander mounted these machines on waggons and they formed a part of his army train the same as our artillery. The Catapult and Ballista it is said were effective in battering down fortresses and in overcoming opposition at river crossings and mountain passes and other places, as the cannon and mortar of today.





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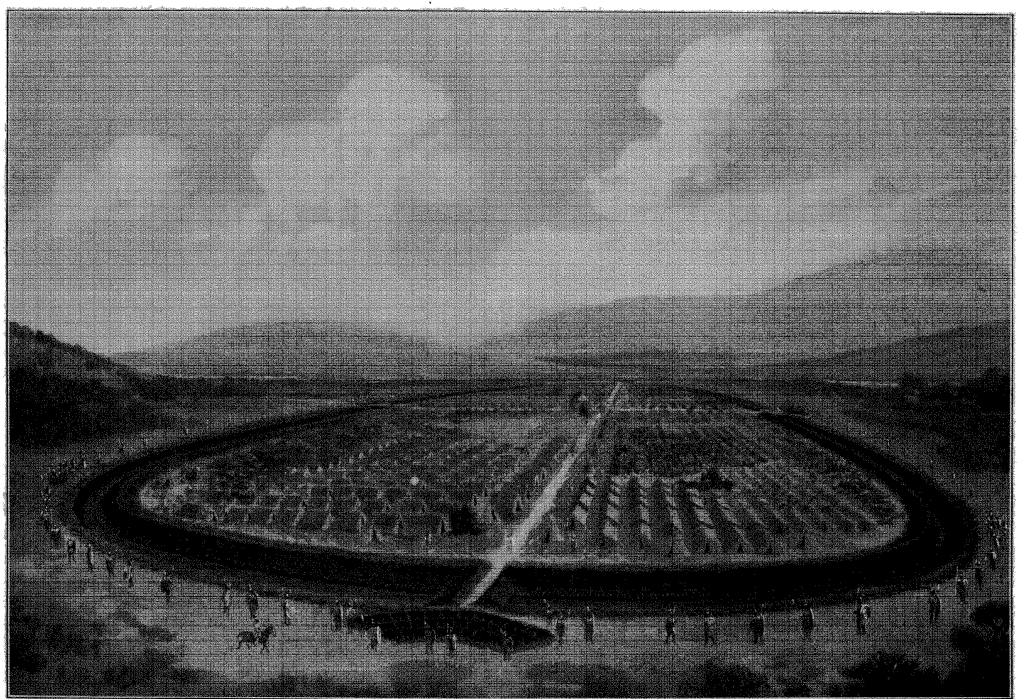
THE MACEDONIAN CAMP

The Macedonian camp was oval in form and surrounded by an embankment of earth four cubits in height (about six feet) the outer side being protected by a wide ditch, an abattis of trees and pointed stakes adding to the security. At intervals near the camp, detachments of troops were stationed, and from these the picket-line was formed, extending in an unbroken circle about the vast enclosure. These armed guardians of the camp were stationed a few feet apart and curiously, as it would now seem, passed a bell from hand to hand to indicate to the officers in charge that constant watchfulness was being maintained; and not less curiously the patrol, whose duty it was to inspect the picket-line, carried similar bells. Farther away videttes guarded the camp from quick surprise, while beyond these alert bodies of light-armed horsemen patrolled the outlying district. At each end of the encampment and on either side a break was left in the earthen wall, and from these streets ran to the openings opposite. Near the centre of the camp where the roads crossed, the headquarters of the army were placed, the tent of the King dominating all. Within the enclosure thus formed rested in their allotted places the forty thousand troops (or whatever the number might be) forming Alexander's army, with their horses, baggage, pack-animals, and attendant slaves and followers.



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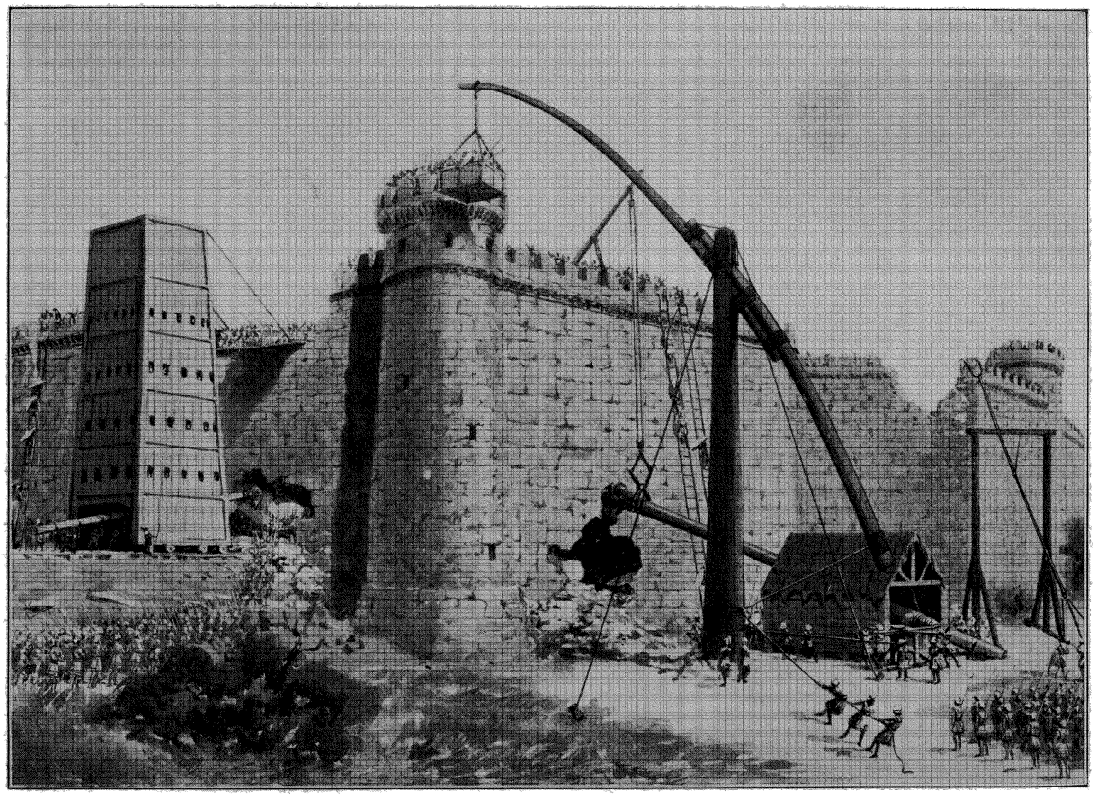
STORMING AN ANCIENT FORTRESS

In the illustration on the opposite page the artist has drawn the outlines of one of the great fortresses of antiquity and the various methods immediately employed by the besieging force in overcoming the same. These measures were further heightened by assailing the fortress with showers of destructive missiles thrown by the Ballista and Catapult, engines of war, placed at a distance. In addition to these open measures the assailing force when practicable sought to undermine the fortress, their effort in this direction being met by the defense with countermines or sorties from their gates or sally ports. In minor contests or whenever possible, entrance to the fortress or walled city—and all cities were walled—was sought by beating down the protecting gates with battering rams.



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of the descendants of the heroic men of early days, that they would be led to co-operate with him in this new attack on the ancient enemies of Hellas; to induce them, indeed, to bear a manly part in this new conquest having in it so much to broaden and aggrandize the Hellenic people. Such was in part the purpose of his visit to the scene of ancient strife between the Greeks and Asiatics, knowing his visit would be chronicled in every Greek community that had sent its contingent of heroes to the Trojan war. The Athenians—leaders of Grecian thought—were, however, dull to such recollections. They saw nothing in the present conquest of Persia to commend. Why should they? Its king had always been free with his gifts and war on his empire meant a cessation of the fat bribes its more potential leaders had so long received at his hands! But above all they desired the destruction of the invading force which if successful clearly foreshadowed under Alexander —if he survived—a centralized government for Greece. This while it would encourage learning, foster the arts and sciences and advance the material interests of the country, would not tolerate the internal strife of the past nor countenance the wild democracy of Athens, so dear to its corrupt leaders and demagogues; a democracy having its life and direction in a dominant class of *slave-holding citizens* in whom all power rested and who, however great their genius, or admirable their personal

achievements, lived their lives apart without thought of the world at large. And it was due to this class and the leadership of Demosthenes, who continued his policy of obstruction to the last, that Greece failed to join Alexander's expedition out of which grew a new and liberal era in the world's politics and an enlightened civilization in the far East.

Faithful to the declared purpose of his visit to ancient Troy, Alexander offered up appropriate sacrifices and oblations at the tomb of Achilles and this duty performed, made propitiatory gifts to the manes of Priam, the murdered Trojan King—dead a thousand years—lest the august shade, still angered over the massacre of his people, should somehow be able to hinder or embarrass the contemplated conquest of Persia. Strange contrast of superstitious credence and confident resolve! But in this act of reparation, Alexander was not more strange than in other things. A poet and dreamer, he was yet a man of affairs and definite purposes; an idealist, yet a man of practical deeds; of overpowering will in the emergencies of life yet withal, amiable and kindly; a King born to rule, who often simulated passion, but rarely felt its force; an enlightened scholar, yet a bigot in his religious belief. For in this last respect the Christian of our day believes not more devoutly in the ethics of his faith nor observes its precepts more regardfully than did

Alexander the belief of pagan Greece. It was a saying of his confirmatory of this, that all men were governed by God, because in all things that which is chief is divine. He also believed that God was the common Father of all, but more particularly of the most upright—*i. e.*, the best of men.

When he had accomplished the object of his religious pilgrimage to Ancient Troy, he lost no time in rejoining his army which had meanwhile been transferred to the eastern shore of the Hellespont. The neglect of the Persians to oppose his crossing of the historic stream is one of many similar mysteries of the invasion, for their ships greatly outnumbered those of the Macedonians and were supported, moreover, by an army of one hundred thousand men. Their failure it has been thought was due to the slight importance they attached to the invasion for having but recently forced Parmenio to raise the siege of Pitane and having also defeated Calas, the Macedonian general, in the open field—compelling him to seek safety in Rhæteum—they appear to have thought there would be no greater difficulty in overcoming the army under Alexander.

The Persian force, collected to repel the invasion, numbering one hundred thousand men, had established itself on the heights of Mt. Ida, some distance from the coast, a position of great natural strength. Alexander, conscious that a direct attack would be attended with great sacrifice of his soldiers and

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Meanwhile, and ere Alexander who was somewhat in advance, reached the eastern shore of the river, Ptolemy, in command of the extreme right of the Macedonian army, had gained the opposite bank because of his more favourable position. But vainly, for here the skilfully directed forces of Memnon awaited his approach, and charging with sword and spear as the Macedonians reached the shore, drove them back in a disordered mass. Of this, however, little was thought, for the Persian princes and nobles with attendant cavalry, noting Alexander's position by the splendour of his armour and waving plumes, hurried to the spot where he must land, that they might personally confront him. But the King, urging his horse with voice and spear, seemed oblivious of their presence as they crowded close upon the river bank, hurling first their javelins and then their lances in vain effort to stay his progress and those who followed. Thus it was, until at last reaching the shore the King essayed the steep ascent, the Persian grandees crowding forward emulous of each other, seeking to strike him down. Making use of his shield and thrusting-pike, Alexander, after being twice repulsed, at last beat back those in his front, and the more forward of the Companions coming to his aid, he was able to maintain a foothold on the yielding bank. Here, upon the brink of the river, strewn with dead and wounded, the battle raged until those who followed

the King, coming up in numbers, he was enabled to make further headway. Seeing the Persians give way, the noble Mithridates (son-in-law of the Persian King) furious at the futility of their efforts, rallying his followers, charged full upon Alexander, but the latter, anticipating the encounter, met him midway, and slew the gallant leader in sight of all his followers. Enraged at the sorrowful spectacle, Rhiosakes, brother of the stricken noble, rushed upon Alexander and raising his cimeter half severed the King's helmet, wounding him with the stroke. Whirling upon his foe Alexander poising his weapon thrust the nobleman through the body. At this Spithridates, a Persian noble approaching from behind, threatened the King with his cimeter but while the weapon was still raised, Kleitus, captain of the King's body guard, anticipating the stroke, severed the Persian's uplifted arm with his sword. This incident of the battle, because of Kleitus' subsequent fate, has been made much of by unenlightened writers. His intervention was one of many such incidents in every ancient battle where men fought hand to hand, the mutual aid and protection they rendered each other being the measure of safety of all. Whether the stroke of Spithridates would have been effective or not, we have no means of knowing, but however that may be, Kleitus merely performed a mechanical duty of his office, he being commander of the Agema, a chosen

body of Companions whose especial duty it was to guard the King's person.

While the King was in the thick of the fight, and beset on every hand, his thrusting pike being broken, a fresh weapon was given him with which he continued the attack, and with such energy that an opening was at last made in the enemy's ranks. Closely followed by the Phalanx and Companions—as if all strength lay in his presence and uplifted arm—the King charged the enemy's centre, and with such furious savagery that the Persian nobles, losing heart, finally abandoned the ill-fated field, recognizing that the day was lost. Seeing their leaders dead or in flight, and Parmenio with his forces eagerly closing in from the north, the Persian army waited not, but throwing down their weapons fled in wild disorder. There, however, remained of the Persian force twenty thousand Greek mercenaries standing apart who had not been brought into the conflict, their weapons upraised, neither advancing nor retiring, bravely waiting, knowing not what to do. Seeing them, Alexander, afire with the flame of battle, charged the courageous Greeks with such forces as he had in hand. His horse—happily not Bucephalus—being slain in the encounter, he mounted another, urging on the attack from every side, the Greeks continuing to fight with stubborn courage until barely two thousand remained alive. These in desperation threw themselves on their

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Referring to the Grecian mercenaries, what a story of neglected opportunities and unfortunate direction by those responsible, is disclosed by the presence of these brave citizens of Greece in the ranks of the Persian army! Far from their country, risking their lives for a despised foe, enduring the exasperating leadership of foreign masters, yet, notwithstanding this, loyal to the hated King, who paid them! We do not know the number of Grecian mercenaries in the Persian service, but in every one of its armies and in every fortress they constituted an element of strength. Ten thousand followed Cyrus the Younger to the Euphrates and won for him the crown he craved, which he lost in the foolish sacrifice of his life on the battlefield of Cunaxa. Who can tell what the twenty thousand Greeks waiting patiently beside the Granicus would have achieved if rightly used; or the thirty thousand courageous men at Issus, had they been led by an aggressive and gallant king. What could not these brave and adventurous soldiers—wanderers from their country—have achieved for themselves —for Greece—had opportunity been afforded them. If overwrought brains and lack of physical courage characterized the men of Athens—those who arrogated to themselves the right to direct the thoughts and purposes of Greece—their countrymen, more modest, it is apparent lacked neither sturdiness nor bravery, though narrow indeed the

field of enterprise in which they lived. What the real men of Greece needed and ever needed, was a centralized government to have made them the dominating force of the world. Philip and after him Alexander, as has been pointed out, would have given Greece a government worthy of its people, but with their passing the last hope of the ill-governed country vanished never to return. For it is apparent from the number and character of the mercenaries in the service of Persia that the rural population of Greece, including Sparta, still possessed great numbers of men of courage and the love of adventure that characterized the people a thousand years before; but unfortunately for them and their country, their aspirations found neither sympathy nor leadership among the governing class.

Greece had, it is apparent, every physical element necessary to the building up of a great nation; men the equals of the Romans in courage and endurance and superior to them in enlightened understanding and intellectual possibilities. It is true that the government Philip and Alexander would have given Greece would not have permitted the incomprehensible vagueness and laxity which characterized that of the Grecian cities, but it would have been patriotic and guided by love and the pride and responsibility of leadership, have quickly adjusted itself to the varying needs and desires of

the versatile people it dominated—a process of evolution and readjustment through which every nation has passed. Thus Great Britain, the greatest, freest and most enlightened nation of which the world has any knowledge, had its origin in the merging of many independent petty states.

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metropolis and stronghold of Asia Minor; its seat of government from remotest ages; the home of Atys, of cherished memory, the wisest of legendary kings, who in the long agony of his starving people, putting grave things aside, set himself to the planning of idle games, that thus the minds of his famine-stricken subjects might be diverted! If Alexander's thoughts reverted to the past and its mighty deeds, the people, however, no longer regarded them; for, all unnecessarily, their recreant Governour had given them over to the mercy of their greatest enemy. Not indeed since the Great Cyrus stormed its walls and by strange chance discovered a weakness in the towering citadel, had there been such bewilderment. Strange happening! Instead of stout defense, in the interval of which Persia might recover her strength, the city had surrendered, and with it the frowning rock, buttressed about with triple walls that months and years would not suffice to undermine! All this without a blow, leaving the inhabitants panic-stricken, cowering in their houses or flying for their lives, fearing murder and sack! For up to this time Alexander had given no intimation, by his acts, of what his policy would be in regard to the inhabitants of cities that opened their gates to him. The worst that could happen was consequently feared from this unknown and murderous barbarian from the west—for so the people regarded him and his followers.

If Conqueror ever felt elation over an unexpected and accomplished deed, the possession of Sardis, the center of wealth and the focus of occidental influence in the west for untold centuries, must have caused Alexander's heart to beat with pride. However, whatever his thoughts may have been, he gave them no expression but directed all his energies to quieting the apprehensions of the people with assurances of his good-will and abundant protection. These he rapidly followed by the establishment of equitable forms of government wherein the people were granted such privileges as seemed likely to gain their favour and add to their happiness and prosperity. Following the capture of Sardis, Alexander continued his march to Ephesus of biblical memory—a place of great commercial importance on the Ionian Sea—which city opened wide its gates on his approach, craving his friendship. This he granted, and in token of his good-will re-established the Grecian customs and forms of government existing prior to the domination of the Persian Kings. Now it was that the Persian people first began to fear that the destruction of the Temple of Diana of the Ephesians—one of the wonders of the world—on the day of Alexander's birth, denoted the implacable anger of their gods and grimly foreshadowed the destruction of the Persian Empire.

While at Ephesus, Tralles and Magnesia and other important Greek communities lying along the

Ægean Sea came to Alexander yielding submission and begging to be favoured as in the case of Ephesus. These requests he complied with, re-establishing the ancient forms of government and freeing the Greek inhabitants from the ills that had oppressed them under the harsh rule of Persia. And in this, he clearly foreshadowed his predetermined policy to invest the communities that yielded to his will with such forms of government as would be acceptable to the people, avoiding the harsh features imposed by the arbitrary and irresponsible representatives of the Persian King, who, having his seat at a distance, had neither the opportunity nor the disposition to look closely into the acts of his viceroys. Through these and kindred acts of benevolent wisdom it soon became apparent to the people that Alexander came to occupy the land; to make it his kingdom, not to lay it waste. Only those who actively opposed him were regarded as enemies. These he treated with severity, that others similarly inclined might be led to peacefully submit. All who yielded, were regarded with forbearance and gentleness; and in this way humanely conquering, it followed that the people quickly came to hail him as a protector and friend. Thus it fell out because of the wisdom of his measures that wherever his troops went there was peace and safety for all who submitted, a thing before unknown of an invading army. And as the policy of the King became

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in our day. Men held it a duty to protect their kin, or those belonging to the same tribe, clan, or people. Further than that there was no interest or obligation, and if any were spared after a battle or the storming of a city, or the capture of a ship, it was because of their value as chattels, or for some political reason. The Hebrew people in the early centuries attending and following the conquest of the promised land, waged a war of extermination against all alien people, mutilating the women, braining the children, and slaughtering the men, sparing none. At a later day the Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians, commercialized those they spared, colonizing their captives or carrying them away into slavery. Thus Assyria colonized the Israelites—transplanting them en masse—as the Babylonians did afterward the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judea.

Alexander appears to have conformed in the main to the usages of his time, exercising severity only in the case of the cities which stood out against him —and this it is apparent not from love of killing but that other communities might be deterred from similar destructive and futile efforts. The wisdom and moderation of his course is attested by the little opposition he experienced from the people of the western portion of the empire and the rapid progress he made in consequence. In his conquest of Persia, he had little or no recourse common to con-

querors, of transplanting disaffected districts but depended rather—and wisely as it turned out—on the introduction of acceptable laws and the appointment of capable governours. For of all the multitudinous horrors that attended the conquests of ancient times there were none so hateful to the people or that caused them so much misery and unhappiness as removal from their homes to live among strangers, lest if left unmolested, they should menace the power of the Conqueror. Assyria practised this custom to a greater extent than any other power and it was the cause finally of her downfall through the diversification and consequent weakening of her home population. Similarly, it is believed, Babylon was betrayed—its inner gates opened to the Persians—by the revengeful Hebrews held as captives within its walls. Cyrus' notable kindnesses to them afterward seem indeed to accentuate the story.

From Miletus Alexander continued his march along the coast to Halicarnassus, a wealthy city on the Ægean Sea, accepting on his way the submission of the different towns through which he passed. Halicarnassus, like Miletus, confident in its strength, refused to open its gates on his approach, treating with scorn all his conciliatory advances. He responded by storming the stronghold, but the resistance being stubborn, the conflict for many days alternated between savage attacks on his part and

courageous efforts on the part of the enemy by sorties and otherwise to beat him off. Finally, however, effective breaches were made in the wall, which, the Persians being unable to repair or successfully defend, they hastily abandoned the city seeking refuge in the citadel situated on an island in the harbour. Being unable to force the enemy to give up this stronghold without great delay and loss of life, Alexander, not deeming it worth the sacrifice, rested content with setting fire to the city and razing it.

334-333 B. C.

With the destruction of Halicarnassus the subjugation of the west coast of Asia Minor was complete, the conquest being accomplished in the summer and autumn months following the departure from Pella. Dividing his army as winter approached, Alexander sent half his force back to Sardis under Parmenio, with directions to meet him at Gordium in Phrygia the following spring. With the remainder of his troops he determined on a winter campaign in the south and east, personally leading the invading force. Continuing his march along the coast he took peaceable possession of Hyparna, Telmessus, Pinara, Xanthus, Patara, and some thirty towns and cities, Marmora alone refusing submission. This last he stormed, but when the inhabitants found further

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conspiracy of Philotas, when finding it unwise to further temporize with treasonable practices, Alexander carried into execution the decree of the court held at Sardis.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PERSIANS—THE SUBJUGATION OF THE PREDATORY TRIBES OF PERSIA BY ALEXANDER

THE Persians were physically the most perfect of men; of pure Aryan blood, of commanding presence and attractive features, they lacked nothing to commend them to the eye. And reflecting on the remote past and its mysteries, why may not the valley of Persis, the birthplace of the Persian people have been in like manner the birthplace of the Aryan race about which there is so much conjecture? Certainly no fairer type of that dominating people ever existed than the Persians about whose history, prior to Cyrus, we are left in so much doubt.

When Cyrus the Great, after defeating the Median army on the plain of Pasargadæ, set out to overrun the world, 550 B. C., every man in his small army possessed the dominating spirit and sturdy courage characteristic of the highest type of the Caucasian race. As a people the Persians were capable of warm personal attachments, but overbearing and haughty in their intercourse with other races, looked upon all mankind as inferiors, fit only to minister to their wants. It resulted from this and the consequent lack of sympathy and

understanding it evinced, that notwithstanding their bravery and charm of person, they never succeeded in assimilating the numerous peoples they subjugated and absorbed into their wide spreading empire. Neither love nor loyalty found a place in the hearts of the governed and in consequence the service they rendered on the battlefield and elsewhere was largely perfunctory. Never great in numbers, the Persian race at the time of Alexander had been depleted by two hundred years of warfare; and the remnant being widely scattered in the service of the government, the few that remained afforded Darius but a nucleus about which to gather the armed forces of his empire.

While Persia possessed an organized government it was archaic in character; such, indeed, as a half-civilized people would be likely to form and be content with afterward as adequate in its provisions. Pure barbarians, they lacked enlightened understanding and the refining influences of a polite civilization and wanting these, were often cruel in their methods and gravely deficient in the essentials of government. All power was vested in the King; his word was law; his will immutable. Singularly enough, it is due to one of the most energetic of the early monarchs, Darius, son of Hystaspes, that we owe the introduction of the postal routes of modern times. Their object in his case was purely personal; to keep him advised of what was occurring

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year by year as the power of the government waned, becoming finally a menace and terror to the peaceably inclined communities near the borders of their secluded haunts.

It being impossible for the Persian Kings, under their form of government, to exercise personal supervision over the affairs of their extended empire, it resulted that they were compelled to delegate much of their power to satraps—many of them hereditary—and the favourites of the court, appointed to rule the provinces or divisions of the country assigned them, in the monarch's name. To them was entrusted the duty of collecting the taxes allotted their several provinces and remitting the same to the central treasury. This duty was imperative—indeed the test of fitness—and was faithfully performed notwithstanding the excessive nature of these exactions, as evinced by the enormous amount of idle money (amounting to some $200,000,000.00) found by Alexander in the various treasuries of the King. In all other things a wide discretion was allowed the satraps and it resulted from this diffusion of authority and the remoteness of the satrapies from the seat of government, that adequate supervision by the King's ministers was impossible. This weakness was heightened by the inefficiency and corruption of many of the viceroys, by the jealousy with which they were in many instances viewed by the central authority, and finally

by the supineness of the reigning King and his advisers. It followed that great laxity existed in the enforcement of the King's ordinances and especially those connected with the police regulations of the country. And because of this the communities of outlaws having their haunts in the mountains—defying the authority of the local governours —were in the habit of raiding the more peaceably inclined inhabitants in their neighbourhood whenever their necessities or inclinations prompted. In many cases stated tribute was levied by and paid to the robber tribes by the people for freedom from their devastating raids. The King himself acknowledged his impotency by paying tribute the same as the common people, in order that he might be free to traverse the highways of his country without molestation.*

Some of the robber tribes numbered thousands of fighting men and possessed well-fortified retreats in which they rested secure from molestation. Some were partly civilized; others pure savages. None of the tribes lived wholly by robbery; each possessing flocks which found sustenance and security in the remote valleys of the mountains. The physical hardiness and courage of the robber communities was noted, their life being such as to promote vig-

*Notably in the case of the marauding bands having their homes between Susa and Persepolis and between Ecbatana and Babylon—in the heart of the Empire.

our and bravery, and in a trial of strength it is possible the common Persian soldiery would have found it impossible to overcome them in their remote and rudely fortified retreats. The more savage of the tribes had their homes in caves, or dens of clay and rock, the women sharing the hardships of the men and in some cases fighting beside them in battle with equal resoluteness and courage.

The chronicles of the time have left us imperfect accounts of ten of these murderous tribes, subdued and made to give guarantees of peaceful conduct by Alexander in the campaigns that he personally conducted against them in the west half of Persia! This number does not include the Mardians and Tarpurians and other robber tribes overcome and brought under subjection by him in his campaign in central and eastern Persia. His determination to bring the outlaws under peaceful control early manifested itself in the conquest of the country and secured for him at once the grateful thanks of the people and in a measure reconciled them to his subversion of Persian rule, recognizing as they did that the outlawed communities existed and pursued their nefarious calling under the protection, in a measure, of the Persian Kings.

It was in pursuance of his fixed purpose to bring these tribes under subjection to law and order, that while resting his army at Phaselis, he determined to make a campaign against the Pisidians, a power-

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every other hindrance were often left behind, the King and those with him sleeping in the open, their bed being the bare ground or the boughs of trees, their only covering the military cloaks about their backs. In these excursions it frequently happened that the King and his followers were lost to the world for days at a time, he himself on emerging from the highlands, being the first to announce to his anxious army the success of the expedition.

Unfortunately for us the scribes who followed the army to recount its doings had little taste for the hardships and dangers of these strenuous campaigns which were often conducted in the winter months amid mountains covered with snow and ice; and so they rested in camp, telling us merely that the King went on such and such an expedition against this or that robber tribe. Thus his deeds and those of his brave followers as they traversed the remote fastnesses of the country, threatened at every step by the ambuscades and pitfalls prepared by an alert and cunning enemy, are in the majority of instances left wholly to conjecture. It was, however, laborious and hazardous acts of this nature undertaken by Alexander, of which the world knew nothing and which consequently were without public recognition or honour, that added to the admiration and love his soldiers bore him and made them desirous above all things of gaining his approbation.

Such were briefly the hardships and dangers—lasting through the conquest—suffered by the King and his brave soldiers in bringing the predatory bands of Persia under subjection to law and order, yet the historian Grote and many other notable writers speak of them lightly as ebullitions of savage temper; expeditions set on foot by Alexander merely to gratify his man hunting instincts!

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man, and thus was able to achieve the object of the hazardous undertaking. Writers speak of the good fortune that attended the incident as a part of Alexander's luck! It is probable, however, that he planned the time and manner of traversing the dangerous pass as carefully as he did every movement of the Macedonian army in battle and on the march. It resulted from the successful movement that not only Pergé, but the cities of Sidé, Syllium and Aspendus, neighbouring strongholds, astonished and terrified at his unexpected coming, yielded without a struggle—the latter, however, only after Alexander had occupied the approaches to the mountain fortress with a strong body of troops.

Directing his march now toward the interior, he approached the Taurus Mountains in the direction of Phrygia, surprising, on his way, by a quick night attack, the impregnable defiles of Termessus, thus opening up the road to Sagalassus, one of the great mountain strongholds of the warlike Pisidians. This fortress lay along the upper heights of the Taurus Mountains, and the inhabitants, confident in their strength, marshalled their forces before its walls to oppose the King's advance. Fighting with courage and determination they assailed Alexander on both his flanks from cunningly contrived ambushes, his troops in consequence being thrown into more or less disorder. But the Phalangites being hurried up, headed by the King in person, the day

was saved. Brave to rashness, the Pisidians threw themselves against the impassable ranks of the invincible corps, but unavailingly, until at last, unable to beat down the long, protruding spears, and convinced of the futility of further effort, they sought safety within the fortress. Continuing his advance, Alexander next attacked the stronghold itself which the Pisidians, after fruitless efforts at defense, surrendered. From this place of vantage he made expeditions against the remaining strongholds of the predatory mountain hordes, until, through capture or by negotiations, he at last brought the barbarians under subjection to law and order.

Continuing his march into Phrygia, he reached Celænæ, a fortress built on an inaccessible rock near the headwaters of the Mæander. Here, loath to sacrifice the men that the storming of the stronghold would involve, he arranged terms of surrender for a future day, and these being perfected, continued his march to Gordium, where the invading army was once more reunited. While at Gordium, Alexander untangled—or cut—the Gordian knot, the solution of which, so the legend ran, foretold the domination of Asia. This device of the primitive Kings, which has become a synonym for unsolvable problems, has always been a favourite theme of historians. From the account we have it appears that in remote days, the gods directed the people

to choose as their rulers two Phrygian peasants, Gordius and his son Midas, and in conformity therewith they were duly made kings in the order named. Dying, these ancient rulers left a primitive waggon or cart which the people greatly treasured and sacredly preserved in the Citadel. A cord made of the bark of the cornel tree fixed the yoke to the pole of the cart, so ingeniously entangled and twisted as to form a knot no one had ever been able to untie. Many had been led to attempt the feat, however, for he who should undo the knot, so the legend ran, was destined to govern the empire of Asia. Alexander was led to visit the Citadel for the purpose of examining the ancient relic, but upon attempting to untie the knot, was no more successful than those who had preceded him. At last comprehending the fact and impatient at his failure, he drew his sword and severed the entanglement. His act was hailed by his followers as the solution of the matter and foretold, as they believed, his ultimate possession of the Persian kingdom!

333 B. C.

From Gordium Alexander marched with his whole force to Ancyra, where the Cappadocians, a high-spirited people, tendered their submission under reservations which he gladly accorded them. Continuing his course to the east, he crossed the Halys, subduing the countries beyond the great river

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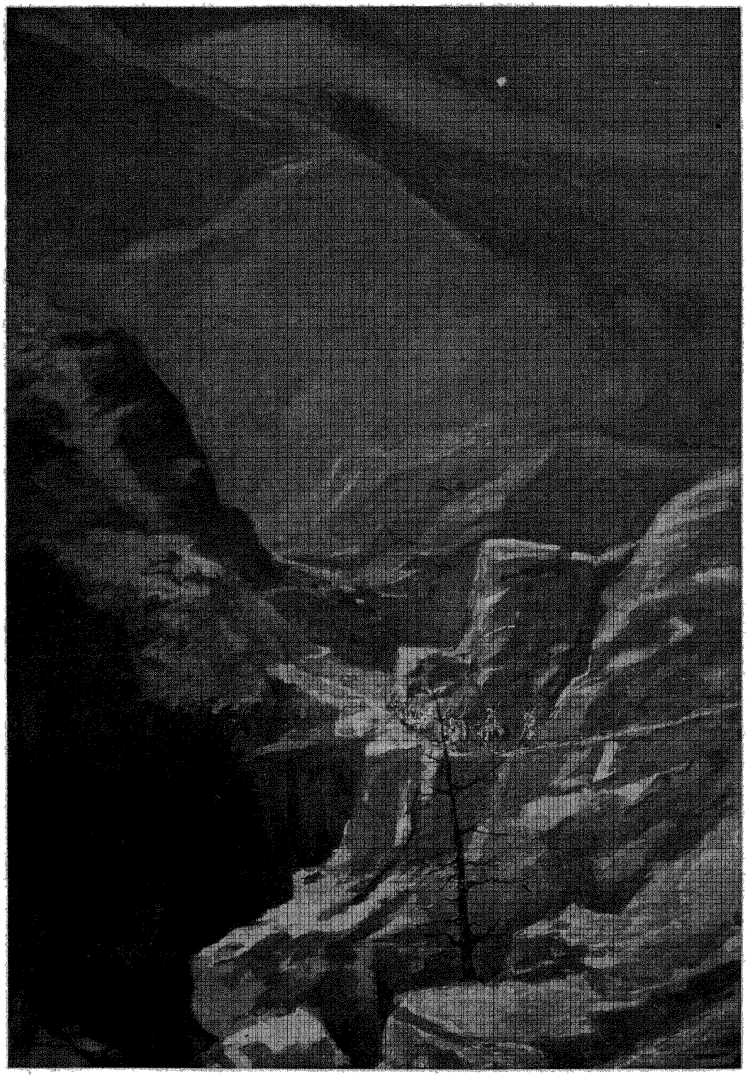
It was in this city, students of history will remember, that Alexander was stricken with a fever, brought on by bathing in the icy river while overheated from a midday march. In the crisis of the disease, however, when life was despaired of, Philip, his physician, fortunate in the draught he prepared, was able to save the King's life. It is related that as the King accepted the medicine with one hand with the other he handed the leech a letter from Parmenio warning him that the physician, Philip, had been bribed by the Persian Monarch to poison him. Alexander, however, confident in the leech's integrity, swallowed the draught, and its effect being fortunate his recovery rapidly followed. Ere this and during the progress of the King's sickness, the alarm was spread abroad that his physicians refused to prescribe for him lest they be afterward accused of causing his death. It was in this emergency that the leech, Philip, acted. Meanwhile great confusion and fear prevailed throughout the army, which the officers found it impossible to control. It was, indeed, the first mishap that had occurred during the invasion to disturb the tranquillity of the soldiers. For so long as the King was with them they had not thought of their whereabouts, or where he led them, or of their remoteness from Macedonia, and the impossibility of succour reaching them, should aught happen. But now deprived of their leader they were as children, sheep



THE GATES (PASS) OF CILICIA

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one who had never known ailment, whom no labour could fatigue, no hardship cause to murmur, no march so difficult or prolonged as to lessen his ardour! Most strange, the wise ones said. Poison, the common soldiers at first whispered, and then openly proclaimed in the camp and on the streets as the days wore on! Came the calamity from an enemy within the royal household, or had the city, as many believed, poisoned the water wherein the King had bathed? The more superstitious believed it to be the work of sorcerers, for it was said there were dire rumblings of the earth, and flames had issued from the river as the King emerged from his bath, shaking as with an ague. Woe to the wicked city if he should die, and the citizens, noting the ugly temper of the troops, fled in terror, while those constrained to stay hid their treasures, and going to the temples offered oblations to the gods, praying for the King's recovery and their own preservation from the danger that threatened them. Great was the rejoicing, therefore, when it was reported that the King's illness had taken a more favourable turn and at last when all danger had passed, the soldiers and inhabitants could not be restrained in their wild demonstrations of joy over the happy event.

Awakened to life and energy, Alexander immediately upon his recovery, led an expedition against the cities of Anchialus and Soli in the west, both

of which strongholds yielded to his arms. Thence he continued his march against a tribe of robbers and murderers who occupied the mountain fastnesses of rugged Cilicia and bringing them under subjection relieved the community from further fear of their exactions, securing at the same time his communications by the Cilician Gates with the north and west, which the outlaws had threatened.

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Alexander had left his sick and disabled soldiers, and which the Persians, in conformity with their usual practices, had cruelly misused and afterward put to death. This outrage on the helpless invalids, as may be supposed, greatly enraged the Macedonians and did not incline them to mercy in the battle that followed. In explanation of Darius' presence at Issus it appeared that he had been wrongly informed as to the reason of Alexander's prolonged stay at Tarsus, and believing it was because the Macedonian King was afraid to meet him in battle, he had most unwisely abandoned the plains of Sochi to seek his enemy in the country to the west. Thus it was that with his army of six hundred thousand men he had left the highlands and descended to the valley through the Armanic Gates, a mountain pass at the extreme northeastern corner of the Mediterranean.

On reaching Issus great was his surprise to learn that Alexander's long stay at Tarsus had been occasioned by sickness and subsequent campaigns in Cilicia and Caria and not through fear to meet him in battle. But afterward, being free, the Macedonian King had set out in search of the Persian host, and believing it to be still awaiting him on the plains of Sochi had passed through Issus, designing to reach the upper country by the Syrian Gates to the south. In this way the two kings had missed each other; Darius coming down to the sea in Alexan-

der's rear, while the latter was hurrying forward to seek him by another route. All this was so contrary to what Darius had been led to expect that it threw him into the greatest alarm, though Charidemus, the Athenian general and an exile from his country, had assured him that the Macedonian King would in his own time seek him wherever he might be found; and that only on an extended field such as the Sochian plain could the Persians hope to be successful in battle. Afterwards on the Athenian persisting in this, and being accused of treasonable intent, the great King in a rage had grasped him by the girdle, the Persian act of condemnation and signal of death.

Surprised at Darius' inexplainable action in leaving the advantageous position, where his great army could be manœuvred to advantage, Alexander nevertheless instantly turned about and re-occupied the Syrian Gates lest the pass should be blocked by the Persian force. Marshalling his army, the succeeding morning he marched straight for the enemy, coming upon the Persians about midday as they were drawn up in battle array beyond the Pinarus, a little mountain stream that crossed the narrow plain some miles south of Issus. In marshalling his forces to meet Alexander, Darius, avoiding the mistake at the Granicus, placed his heavy armed Greek stipendiaries, thirty thousand strong, in front facing the mountain stream. On either side of these

were thirty thousand shield-bearing guards, trained to fight hand to hand, and on his extreme left twenty thousand Cardaces, light troops, to threaten Alexander's right flank. The Persian iron-clad cavalry, thirty thousand strong, he placed on the extreme right, their flank resting on the sea. Behind the Greek mercenaries were the Immortals and kinsmen of the Persian King, picked troops, twenty thousand strong. In the midst of these last Darius took his station in a chariot drawn by four horses abreast. Behind the forces thus described were his mixed troops, four hundred and forty thousand in number. Opposed to this force the Macedonian army numbered, all told, thirty thousand men.

Never perhaps has battlefield had more picturesque setting! A narrow plain a mile and a half in width bordered on the west by the Mediterranean Sea and on the east by a chain of lofty mountains, forest covered, in the shadows of which, indeed, ere the day closed, thousands of panic-stricken fugitives were to seek a place of refuge. Across the level plain the placid mountain stream wound its tortuous way as if loath to lose itself in the waters of the sea. To the north the village of Issus could be faintly seen and far to the south the rugged outlines of the pass or gorge known as the Syrian Gates. On the northern bank of the mountain stream and closely following its many windings the army of Darius, as already stated, waited in still expectancy the coming battle.

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person. As the Phalanx and Hypaspists entered the stream and successfully charged the Greek mercenaries beyond, Alexander leading the Companions and supported by Hypaspists, made a detour, directing his attack against the left wing of the enemy. Surprised and dismayed by the unexpected and impetuous charge, it presently gave way, leaving Alexander free to turn his attention elsewhere. And fortunately, for the Phalanx had been met as it gained a partial foothold on the opposite bank of the stream by the Grecian mercenaries with such courage and determination that it was thrown into disorder and, reeling before the attack, showed signs of giving way, thus exposing the Macedonians' right flank to the enemy. Perceiving the danger, Alexander whirled to the left and with the Companions and Hypaspists assailed the Grecian mercenaries on their left flank and with such direction and impetuous courage as to presently throw them into disorder, thus relieving the sorely pressed Phalangites from their strenuous attack. Satisfied that the right flank of his army was now secure and that the Phalanx needed no further assistance, Alexander turned to the right and directed his charge straight for the Persian monarch—the center of resistance and the inspiration of the Persian army —for if successful there victory would follow without further effort. Hewing a path as he swept forward amid the terrifying cries of the Companions

and Hypaspists, the enemy met the attack with resolute courage, but intent upon his purpose, he continued to push his way. At last, nearing the person of Darius he was met by the Immortals and kinsmen who guarded the King's person and here the contest raged for a considerable time, uncertain of issue, the ground strewn with the dead and dying. But Darius, apprehensive of Alexander's ever increasing advantage and seeing, moreover, that the Persian line of retreat was threatened, foreseeing the defeat of his forces, hastily abandoned his entangled chariot and mounting another sought safety in flight. But his progress being hindered in this as in the other, he hurriedly quit the vehicle and mounting a waiting horse, effected his escape from the field, leaving his bow, shield and regal mantle as trophies to his enemy.* Upon observing Darius' flight, his followers at once gave voice to the fateful cry, "The King flees," upon which, disheartened, they one and all sought safety in flight. Thus the great and decisive battle ended, the pursuit that followed being cut short by darkness which quickly overspread the plain.†

After the pursuit from which Alexander returned wounded, on being conducted to the tent of the Per-

*See Frontispiece.

†The battle of Issus was really the determining conflict of the war, demonstrating as it did that the superior organization of the Macedonians and Alexander's personal prowess and genius in battle could not be overcome by any force that Darius could bring against him.

sian King, he found in a room apart, to his great surprise, Statira, Darius' Queen, and her young son and two daughters; also Sisygambis, the mother of the Persian Monarch. Sending word to the Queen who was distraught and in tears, of the safety of her husband, Alexander, on the following morning, accompanied by Hephæstion, paid her a visit of ceremony, assuring her that he did not make war on women, and that she should be treated with the same dignity and consideration she had received as Queen of Persia. In this he was better than his word, but he would never thereafter allow himself to see her lest it might be construed to her disadvantage, in which determination he chivalrously persisted up to the time of her death. He, however, would not consent to deliver her or her children up to the Persian King, holding them to be necessary hostages for the safety of his people, it being the practice of the Persians, as at Issus, to mutilate and put to death any Grecians so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. Nor would Alexander listen to Darius' subsequent tender of friendship and alliance as between two kings. In reply he accused the Persian of instigating and aiding in the murder of Philip of Macedon and otherwise stirring up the Grecian cities against Macedonia, adding, "Now by the grace of the gods I have been victorious, first over your satraps, next over yourself. I have taken care of all who submit to me, and made them satis-

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The chroniclers of the time, in describing the battle of Issus, say that when word was brought Alexander that the family of the Persian King was among the prisoners, he was more lively affected with their misfortune than with his own success. In his subsequent treatment of them, conforming to his promise made to Statira, he diminished nothing of their equipage, or of the attentions and respect formerly paid them, allowing them indeed larger pensions for their maintenance than they had before received. But the noblest and most royal part of their usage was, as Plutarch recounts, that he treated his illustrious prisoners according to their virtue and character, not suffering them to hear, or receive, or so much as to apprehend anything that was unbecoming. So that they seemed lodged in some temple, or holy virgin chambers, where they enjoyed their privacy, sacred and uninterrupted, rather than in the camp of an enemy. Plutarch further recounts that Darius' wife was the most beautiful princess then living, her daughter being not unworthy of her in this respect, but Alexander esteeming it more kingly to govern himself than to overcome his enemies, sought no intimacy with either of them. History also recounts—though its truth is questioned—that when Darius heard of the treatment accorded his Queen, he lifted up his hands, exclaiming, "Ye gods of my family, and of my kingdom, if it be possible, I beseech you to

restore the declining affairs of Persia, that I may leave them in as flourishing a condition as I found them, and have it in my power to make a grateful return to Alexander for the kindness which in my adversity he has shown to those who are dearest to me. But if, indeed, the fatal time be come, which is to give a period to the Persian monarchy, if our ruin be a debt that must be paid to the divine jealousy and the vicissitude of things, then I beseech you grant that no other man but Alexander may sit upon the throne of Cyrus."

Alexander appears to have possessed all the pride of Le Grand Monarque, Louis XIV, but differed from the French King in this that he treated with patience and indulgence all who came to him, but while doing this steadfastly refused to recognize any one as his equal. Hence his refusal when Darius sought to treat with him on such terms. "Come to me and I will give thee all thou canst ask," he wrote, the substance of which was that he would make abundant provision for the unfortunate monarch including the delivering up to him of his Queen and children if he would submit himself to his, Alexander's, grace. It was unfortunate that the unhappy monarch did not avail himself of this generous offer, if, indeed, he was in a position to do so; but it is quite possible that, hedged about as he was by exalted princes of the royal family, like

Bessus, who were jealous of his power and hoped to succeed him if he fell, he found it impossible.

Among the treasures of the King's tent that came into the possession of Alexander after the battle, was a richly jeweled casket which he greatly admired and in which he directed should be kept his copy of the Iliad and that at night the treasure should be placed beneath his pillow.

This ostentatious exploitation of the Iliad, however, was due only in part to love of Homer; its particular and especial purpose—as in the case of his visit to the tomb of Achilles—being for effect on the Grecian people; to stir them to recollections of the heroic age of Greece. But more particularly to attract the interest of the Athenians, for he thought the men of Athens, of all Greece, afforded the only fit material for advisers and law makers in reorganizing and blending the governments of the east and the west. It was this and his respect for the exalted talent of Demosthenes, that led him to spare that great man, his bitter enemy. His successors, mere soldiers, having no use for Demosthenes or men of his character, hunted them to death.

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and growing disquietude of the Macedonian leaders, who were accustomed to treat their Kings in a very democratic manner. But aside from these disturbing incidents, forerunner of the discontent of the future, the progress of the army was one of confident expectation and delight. To the east tree-clad mountains looked down on the marching column and to the west the sparkling waters of the Mediterranean, dotted with fishing crafts and Phœnician ships, interested and gladdened the eyes of the exultant soldiers. Beside the highway and in the fields beyond, attractive villas half hidden by trees and hanging vines enlivened the landscape and indicated the abundant prosperity of the closely settled country. Through this enchanted valley the army made its way and it was in a spirit of triumphant exaltation that it finally approached Tyre, a city of courageous and enterprising inhabitants whose white winged ships had for ages frequented every known sea and market. The seat of Phœnician influence and power, it was little given to war but had been known throughout all time for its heroic defense of its homes and marts of trade. In the prehistoric age, these hardy voyagers safeguarded their ventures by the erection of Cyclopean fortresses on the borders of the sea in distant and savage countries; but of these undertakings they preserved no record, and the names of the strongholds are all we have to indicate their Phœnician origin.

Despising alike the needs of history and thoughts of fame, they gave up their lives to the attainment of material things, the observance of their cruel and idolatrous beliefs being an exception; the ingenious builders of the alphabet, they had no use for letters save to further business and recount its activities.

As the Macedonian army approached the island city, encompassed about as it was by a mighty wall, it was met by a deputation of citizens offering submission, but refusing Alexander permission to enter the gates of the stronghold. This he rightly construed as a determination on their part to preserve an attitude of armed neutrality, a position that would enable them to side with either party as the vicissitudes of the conflict dictated. This could not be looked upon otherwise than as a menace in view of the strength of the armed city and its great array of ships of war, that might at any moment render his purposes uncertain of accomplishment or permanency. He, therefore, determined, on their persisting in their refusal to grant him entrance to the fortress, to lay siege to the stronghold which was situated on an island half a mile from the mainland. The city thus protected by the sea, was surrounded by a wall of cut stone one hundred and fifty feet in height and one hundred feet across the top. As Alexander had no ships it was impossible for him to reach the stronghold except by means of a mole, and this he at once set about constructing, the

embankment being two hundred feet in width. The undertaking proved one of incredible labour and difficulty and was months in accomplishment, but as it neared completion and the expectation of the besieging force was elated thereby, the Tyrians suddenly emerged from the interior harbour of the fortress and by means of a fire ship filled with combustibles, set fire to Alexander's machines and engines, and other inflammable material collected on the made land. This misfortune was followed by a great storm which washed away the huge filling, practically destroying all the work that had been done. Setting his force to reconstruct the great embankment, Alexander hastened to Sidon, and that city with its neighbours being now free from service with Darius, voluntarily tendered him their warships, three hundred in number. With these he was able to sail back to Tyre with a fleet outnumbering that of his stubborn enemy. This superiority was presently still further increased by an engagement which the Tyrians were so incautious as to invite, and in which great numbers of their vessels were captured or destroyed by the ships which Alexander led against them in person. Having now the advantage, he assailed the walls of the city night and day, until at last, a breach being effected, he personally led the assault, and beating back the enemy mounted the wall from which a descent was made into the city. Here the struggle continued with incredible

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The siege throughout was memorable as one of surprises, perils, disappointments, tempests and wrecks; of ever changing conflict, terminating at last in victory followed by putting to death two thousand soldiers—the inhabitants being spared—who had been active as defenders of the mighty fortress and participants in the cruel indignities suffered by the Macedonians so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. Tamburlaine would have felt belittled we may believe had he left a child alive after a siege so prolonged and harassing to his temper and majesty. And, similarly, Cæsar, in his conquest of Gaul, when arrested in his progress by the harassing siege of Bourges, on its capture—and in a frenzy of rage—gave over the great and populous city to sack, putting all to death, sparing neither man, woman nor child! Such procedure was not unusual, for while murder was esteemed a crime among the ancients very much as it is today, the putting to death of enemies arrayed in open conflict meant nothing. It was a question of policy, merely, whether to spare, to destroy, or to enslave. The moral was the same and quite unobjectionable whichever course was followed!

The Tyrians were noted as of persistent thrift and subtile knowledge of trade, far reaching in their commercial ventures and quick to take advantage of those less adroit than themselves. Under their tutelage, the savages that in ancient times inhabited

the coast of the neighbouring seas were led to look upon the world with more enlightened eyes; to become, little by little, familiar with the comforts of life and the power and strength that comes of methodical effort. At heart, however, the Tyrians were quite as cruel and little more civilized than the barbarians they taught the arts of trade. They still offered up human beings as sacrifices, but in the case of the well-to-do, it was a vicarious offering, for only when the emergencies of the state were desperate beyond remedy, could they be induced to offer up their own offspring as required to do, in propitiation of the outraged gods. And beneath their white winged sails that spread a civilizing commerce far and wide, the same sails bore from every trading port such captives as could be entrapped by the Tyrians in the hurried hour of departure, to be borne away and sold into slavery in some far distant port. For the Tyrians like the Carthaginians, recognized every source of gain as legitimate and praiseworthy. No community it may be said having an abiding place on the shores of the Mediterranean and its network of connecting seas, escaped the loss of one or more of its members, sold into slavery by the pilfering traders. And if by chance the Phœnicians, enslaved and scattered abroad on the fall of Tyre, found their way to the districts thus robbed, it was but the payment of a debt due perhaps for a thousand years or more.

Intelligent and far-seeing in all their measures and courageous to the point of frenzy in defense of their families and property, the capture of their seemingly impregnable stronghold will ever be esteemed one of the greatest achievements in the military history of mankind.

Alexander's base on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, being made secure by the capture of the last remaining stronghold on the sea, he continued his march to Gaza, an historic city, the origin of which is lost in the darkness of the past. It is of especial interest to Christian nations as one of the strongholds of the Canaanites ere the coming of the Israelites. But on the advent of the latter, owing to its strategical importance and great wealth, it became a source of perpetual strife between them and their warlike neighbours. The Hebrews, invincible in courage and strength, successful in their attack today would in turn be driven out on the morrow by men equally brave and enterprising!

The city is of further agreeable interest to us, as being the theatre of Samson's most memorable achievement. It was there also in a nocturnal visit, savouring of passion and adventure, that he, in avoidance of his enemies, carried away the outer gate of the stronghold on his back in making his escape. After Delilah's betrayal of him to the Philistines he was taken to Gaza and blind and for-

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aside from its commercial importance, guarded the gateway between Egypt and Syria and the territory bordering the Red Sea on the north. After four months of incredible labour and continuous fighting, the Macedonians succeeded in constructing a mound about the city twelve hundred and forty feet in width and two hundred and fifty feet in height, in which herculean task they employed the enforced labour of the surrounding country as they had done in constructing the mole at Tyre.

From this eminence Alexander was able to successfully assail the walls with his projectile engines and battering rams; and, breeches being effected, the Macedonians charged, the defending force meeting them with equal courage and resolution. Thus fighting sword in hand, the garrison was at last overcome, the strife ending in its complete annihilation, for not a soldier would yield or seek safety in flight. Batis, the commander of the fortress, a eunuch of the Persian King, met death with those about him, striving bravely to the last to defend his trust.

In connection with the death of this unhappy man a malicious fable early connected itself with Alexander's name, and which copyists today unctuously or apologetically revive. It is supposed to have had its origin in the unsupported testimony of a lost and unauthenticated Greek writer named Hegesias, and was to the effect that following the

capture of Gaza, Alexander caused rings to be passed through the feet of the eunuch after which tied to the tail of his chariot, he dragged the body of the brave soldier at full speed through the streets of the city. The story was revived—or had its origin—in the criticisms of Dionysius, a Grecian, commenting on the style of Hegesias' writings. Curtius, careless in his statements and often unreliable, is the only early historian who refers to the incident. He seems to have heard of the comments of Dionysius and so gave his reference to the incident a place in his history. Hence the publicity. Neither Arrian, Ptolemy, Chares, Plutarch, Aristobulus nor any author of credit mentions the occurrence. Indeed, no one present at the siege of Gaza or who wrote from authoritative knowledge of what happened there mentions the Batis incident! Whether Hegesias, the lost author, ever gave utterance to any such story, or whether it was a sly and quite Grecian invention of Dionysius himself—devised for the purpose of slandering Alexander—will remain forever a mystery. Its purpose, however, was to make Alexander appear ridiculous by comparing the supposed act with a similar performance of Achilles at the siege of Troy in his treatment of Hector, the royal Trojan prince. The discredit to Alexander it was reasoned would lay in the fact that Batis was not a prince nor the equal

of Alexander, but the most despised of men, a eunuch, and the slave of the hated Persian King.

Reflecting on this fable and others of like improbability, we are led to ponder as to the truthfulness of the reputed visit of Alexander to the cynic Diogenes, and his supposed comment that if he were not Alexander he would be Diogenes! Whether this story of Diogenes had any better foundation than the Gallic incident referred to in the fifth chapter, or the Batis fable, we shall never know. It probably had no foundation in fact as Diogenes at the time of Alexander's visit to Corinth was a loathsome degenerate, a dirty, sensuous glutton, living in indescribable filth in a tub beneath the walls of the city, his food consisting of raw meat, upon which those who came upon his dead body believed he had choked himself to death!

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ing the camp he put two of the outlaws to death and dispersed the others, after which snatching up a live faggot he returned to Lysimachus where a fire being quickly started, the old man was saved from further discomfort.

This obscure happening in the lonely mountains of Phœnicia, as related by Chares and Plutarch, is extremely interesting, illustrating as it does Alexander's love for his friends and the little account he took of danger or hardship to himself in serving them. In this case we see a great King, in effect the Emperor of the world, cheerfully assuming the duties of a body servant to the tutor of his youth. He continued thus to cherish Lysimachus all his days in remembrance of the love the old man had shown him at a time when the future was uncertain and men regarded the young prince merely as a political entity, or thought only of his physical and mental training. Lysimachus, more benevolently inclined, treated him with tender indulgence and as a father would a beloved son and, remembering the fact, Alexander humoured his caprices and watched over him with loving solicitude as long as he lived. He treated with like affection the venerable philosopher, Demaratus, who had indirectly been of service to him when a youth and in exile. In this connection it is related that Demaratus, being on a visit to Philip of Macedon, the latter in the course of conversation, bitterly lamented the

discordant affairs of Greece. Whereupon Demaratus intimated that such criticism came with poor grace from one whose family was disrupted and whose son and heir was in exile because of domestic strife. It is said that it was this incident and its applicability, that induced Philip to recall Alexander, who was then an exile in Illyria. The steadfastness of Alexander's affection for all who had a claim upon him is further illustrated in his treatment of Hephæstion with whom he had been brought up and who was true to him in all things. His filial love for his mother—a monster of ferocity—further illustrates his gentleness and fidelity. He would not, however, go so far as to let her take part in the political affairs of Macedonia because of her cruel and erratic temper. She, however, refused absolutely to acquiesce in his decision and her intrigues and interference caused Antipater, the trusted, civil and military governour of the country, great uneasiness. His letters were full of complaints and accusations, but it made no difference to Alexander and it is related that upon the latter's receiving such a communication from his viceroy, he turned to Hephæstion, exclaiming, "Antipater does not know that one tear of a mother effaces a thousand such letters as this."

After the capture of Gaza, Alexander continued his march to Jerusalem, which city, warned by the fate of its neighbours, sought not to defend itself.

But taking time by the forelock, Jaddeus, the high priest, attended by the inhabitants, clothed in white, went forth to meet the young Conqueror; and the latter accepting the submission, entered the city alone, and visiting the sacred temple in company with the high priest, offered up sacrifices to the God of Israel according to the established rites. In thus tendering submission, the Hebrews evinced their usual astuteness, for while Jerusalem had been harried many times in the past for its spoils, the inhabitants recognized that Alexander came to take possession of the country, and having secured it peaceably, was content to govern through the constituted authorities. And so reasoning, the Hebrews wisely yielded to the inevitable and yielding, were left in undisturbed possession of their seat of power.

After his visit to Jerusalem, Alexander returned to Gaza, and from thence marched to Pelusium in Egypt where, meeting with no opposition, he continued his peaceful progress to Memphis. Responding to the welcome of the Egyptians, supposedly the oldest of men and the creatures of an eventful history, Alexander met their advances by offering up sacrifices to Apis, the Egyptian deity, supplementing this acceptable and politic act with musical entertainments and sumptuous festivities which he caused to be celebrated with untold splendour. Afterward he was led to visit the western mouth of the Nile, where he laid out the famed city of Alexan-

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trolled by Grecian enterprise and thought as Alexander designed it should be.

When the new city had been outlined and measures taken for its building up Alexander, successful in all his undertakings, determined to make a religious pilgrimage to the shrine of the supreme god, Jupiter-Ammon, located on an oasis in the heart of the Lybian Desert. Accordingly he set out with a small force, marching two hundred miles to the west along the southern shore of the Mediterranean, and a like distance across the trackless desert. Reaching the oasis he sought the sacred temple where according to the purpose of his visit he offered up sacrifices and libations to the mighty god. He also consulted the oracle regarding the past and future, asking among other things whether all those implicated in the murder of his father, Philip, had been punished. Having accomplished the purpose of his pilgrimage he returned to Memphis, marching straight across the desert, a distance of three hundred and forty miles. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Persian King, Cambyses, two hundred years before, for some purpose not clearly apparent, sent an army of sixty thousand men across the desert from Memphis, their destination being the shrine of Jupiter-Ammon; but overwhelmed on their march by the sand storms of the great waste, the entire force

was lost, not a man returning to recount the particulars of the disaster.

When it became known that Alexander had visited the shrine of Jupiter-Ammon, his enemies, enterprising in their malice, spread abroad the story that his purpose in visiting the shrine was to secure from the god a declaration that he was the child of Jupiter-Ammon, and not of Philip of Macedon. His divine origin the oracle furthermore was said to have solemnly vouchsafed. Much was made of the story and it quickly became the talk of Athens and a source of never ending ridicule and laughter to its versatile inhabitants. In this mirth Alexander and Hephæstion probably joined, in the seclusion of their tents, but said nothing. What answer could be made to so ridiculous an assertion? None. The accusation, however, contained a useful hint which Alexander was not slow to see and encourage, by surmounting his casque with an image of the mighty god. Not out of vanity as his enemies scoffed but because of the great advantage to him and to the Macedonian cause that would arise from a belief upon the part of the people of the east—superstitious barbarians one and all—that his parentage was of so exalted a character. But because the story was not authoritatively contradicted by him, the maliciously inclined and the more simple minded came to believe the slander to be true, and that he had grossly outraged the memory of his father.

This belief still finds credence among the unenlightened writers of the present day, and sorrowful indeed are their comments that the great Conqueror should have so demeaned himself. But the orientals, seeing the image of deity surmounting Alexander's casque and not at all comprehending that the reference to his divine birth was not seriously intended, came to believe that he was in truth of supernatural parentage. The success that attended all his efforts confirmed them in this belief and thus the conviction spread, until at last as he neared the Indus we see a great fortress strongly defended, abandoned without effort at defense under the belief that being of divine parentage he could not be resisted! Thus it turned out that the thing he sought, namely, to strengthen himself and his cause in his contest with the orientals in the far East was abundantly realized. Curiously enough, in connection with the story of Alexander's descent from the god Jupiter-Ammon, it was his father who was the first to hint that he was of divine origin. For it is related that when Philip sought an excuse for casting off Olympias—that he might make Cleopatra his Queen—he accused her of having commerce with the gods, basing his charge on the fact that while she was celebrating the Orphic Mysteries, in the solitudes of the forests, a tame snake, emblematic of divinity, was discovered half-concealed in her dress, while she slept. This he swore, voicing the superstition of the

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE BATTLE OF ARBELA. ALEXANDER ENTERS BABYLON

331 B. C.

HAVING through the acquisition of Egypt and the Mediterranean coast and the country bordering thereon, securely safeguarded his base of operations, Alexander determined to seek Darius who he learned was collecting a new army for the purpose of giving him battle. He accordingly hastened his departure from Memphis, retracing his steps along the eastern border of the Mediterranean, but tarrying here and there to regulate the affairs of Syria and the coast country, making such dispositions meanwhile in Greece as his contemplated campaign in the far East seemed to render necessary. Desirous of conciliating the Persian people, he made offerings to the local gods—where they did not involve human sacrifices—and otherwise by his gifts and spectacles sought to quiet the apprehensions of the inhabitants.

Similarly, in his progress through Asia, while urgent in the prosecution of the war, he was equally intent upon the propagation of Grecian thought and Grecian methods. For at heart he was a Greek and in sympathy with Hellenic culture and in his

marches would linger in the different cities to make known to the orientals the athletics, the arts and the graces of Hellas. Wherever he went, whatever part of Asia he visited, he found time and opportunity to found Greek cities and establish therein the people of Greece and their salutary customs and laws. The barbaric forms of Persia were in time to give place to the more enlightened methods of western civilization. His love of Grecian art and his admiration for Athens, its home, he continued to evince all his life and, if proof were needed, it was shown by his generous treatment of the great city notwithstanding its uniformly unfriendly attitude.

It was the belief of Alexander that the genius of the Greeks and the bravery of their hardy yeomanry, would remould and vitalize the waning strength of Persia, thus making the united kingdoms irresistible as a world's power. His belief in this respect was unmistakably shown at the close of the conquest, when he incorporated large numbers of the Persian troops with the Macedonians and in other cases instituted separate Persian corps. Historians have assumed that he did this for the purpose of freeing himself from the exactions of his Macedonian followers; and while the change might have had this beneficial effect, the real purpose of the King was the cementing of the union of the two countries, the emphasizing of their dependence upon each other.

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army plunged into the turbulent stream, Alexander leading the way, the water reaching to his armpits. In this manner the crossing was happily effected without the loss of a man. Immediately after the hazardous exploit, an eclipse of the moon occurred; a startling thing in that superstitious age, and looked upon with fear and trembling. In this instance, however, the soothsayers, wise in their day, cunningly construed it as being favourable to the Macedonians, for the reason that Astarte—the moon—was an object of worship by the barbarians, and its eclipse therefore foreboded harm only to the Persian cause. In this way the alarm in the Macedonian ranks was quieted.

Directing his course to the south, Alexander's spies soon brought him word that the Persian army awaited him on the plains, four days' march away. Thus at last a decisive conflict was at hand and one fraught with supreme peril to the Macedonians. For far removed from their base with the Euphrates and Tigris in their rear, defeat meant annihilation. And Persia, responding anew to the call of her King, had come to his aid with all her forces, confident that had they been at Issus that disastrous battle would have resulted in a glorious victory. Of boasting, however, there was none, or only among the younger and more sanguine, for Macedonia's young King was no longer an object of derision, every wind that swept the plains of

Mesopotamia from the west seeming to whisper his name or tell some wondrous story of his might. Nor could Darius find fault as at Issus with the field of battle, nor complain if defeat overtook him, for it was selected by himself on an extended plain, levelled by his engineers till it was like a beaten floor.

Approaching within a short distance of the Persian forces, Alexander halted his army, consisting of seven thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry. Here he established a camp and rested his troops, moving forward on the evening of the fourth day, intending to attack Darius on the succeeding morning. However, the march being delayed, the battle was postponed until the succeeding day, the intervening time being spent in reconnoitering the enemy's position. In this situation, Parmenio advised a night attack which Alexander declined, saying he would not steal a victory over his enemy, reasoning, it is apparent, that if the battle was fought and won in the open day there could then be no subsequent question as to its decisiveness.

Thus it was determined, and Alexander retiring to rest did not awake till some hours after dawn, and then only upon Parmenio's arousing him and telling him the army awaited his coming, marshalled for battle. Awakened to life, the King arrayed himself in a tunic of Sicilian pattern and

over this a cuirass of quilted cloth. In protection of his throat he wore a gorget of steel set with precious stones, and about his waist, to which was attached his sword, was clasped a broad belt of exquisite workmanship, heavily embossed. Light greaves protected his limbs, and on his head he wore a helmet of polished steel, adorned with ostrich feathers. Thus accoutred he reviewed his soldiers, encouraging them with confident speech, assuring them of victory and empire if they but fought as became the followers of Philip and Alexander. Having reviewed the army, he placed himself at the head of the Companions on the right, and all being in readiness signalled the order to advance.

The army of Darius was drawn up meanwhile on a sandy plain thirty miles in extent which he had caused to be made level for the better manœuvering of his huge force. Viewed from the Macedonian camp the vast expanse glowed at evening and in the early morning like a huge plate of bronze or beaten gold, but as midday approached, heated by the fierce desert sun, deceptive mirages appeared in which inviting streams and tantalizing lakes met the eye at every turn. Such was the vast field upon which the fate of the eastern world was to be determined; and which within a few hours like the battlefield of Issus, was to resound with the cries of terror-stricken fugitives and the fierce onslaught of pursuing enemies.

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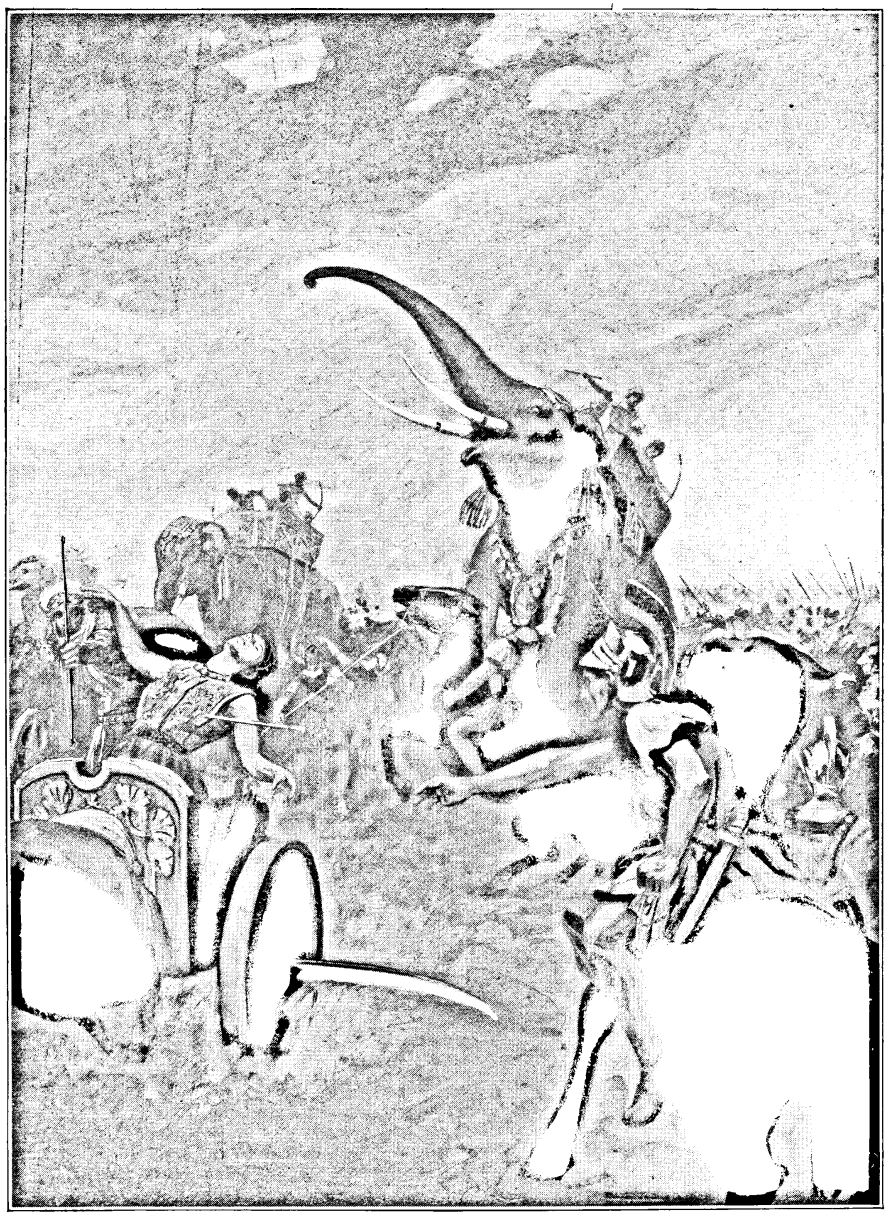
to expect, for the Macedonians, dexterously evading the onslaught of the elephants, put the huge animals to flight with showers of missiles. Opening wide their ranks (as Clearchus had done at Cunaxa seventy years before) the Macedonians allowed the chariots to pass harmlessly through their lines when unable to intercept and turn them back in flight on the Persian front. Thus nothing decisive was accomplished by Darius' ingenious devices.

Meanwhile Alexander continuing his oblique movement to the right, Darius ordered Bessus, who commanded the Persian left, to move forward his first line of troops to intercept and stay the Macedonian King. Doing as commanded, Bessus beat back a column of cavalry which threatened his extreme left, but in the forward movement his second line for some reason failed to move up to take the place of the one he had advanced to stay Alexander's progress. Thus there intervened a weak spot in the Persian left center, which Alexander perceiving instantly charged, forming for the purpose a wedge of the Companions supported by a body of infantry. For a time the Persian troops bravely held their ground, animated by Darius' encouraging presence, but the armour-clad Companions, charging again and again with thrusting-pike and sword, supported by the long, protruding spears of the Phalanx, at last broke through the



THE BATTLE OF ARBELA

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family, and would have carried them off, but frightened at the wild turmoil of the field and fearful of the result of the battle, the royal children would by no means accept the friendly offer. Gratified at the success of his manœuvre and the desperate plight of Parmenio, Mazæus collected his remaining cavalry and ordered it to charge the Macedonian left front, and this it did with such headlong fury that Parmenio, fearful of the result, dispatched word to Alexander to hasten to his rescue lest his forces be destroyed and the day lost. This summons reaching Alexander while in hot pursuit of the flying King, he reluctantly turned about and presently encountering those who had penetrated his center, a fierce struggle ensued, ending in the extermination of the Persian force. Taking heart, Parmenio now massed his cavalry and charged the hitherto victorious Mazæus, which assault the latter, weakened by the defection of the main army, found it impossible to withstand; and so evading the conflict, drew off his forces in the direction of Babylon. Immediately upon Mazæus' abandonment of the field, Alexander set out afresh in pursuit of Darius, whose capture meant the close of the disastrous war, but on arriving at Arbela, seventy miles distant, he found the unfortunate King had passed through the village several hours before, having abandoned his chariot for a horse, the better to expedite his flight. Thus the battle of Arbela,

on which the Empire of the east depended, was fought and won, the victory being due, all military critics admit, to Alexander's personal leadership in the battle and the incomparable disposition of his forces.

331-330 B. C.

The result of the decisive victory was to open up all central Persia to the invading force and upon Alexander's return from the pursuit of Darius, he caused his army to face about, and recrossing the Tigris directed its march on Babylon. Mazæus, the governour of the city, who had commanded the right wing of the Persian army at Arbela, and was the last to leave the field, feeling it impossible to oppose the Macedonians with his depleted force, emerged from the gates as Alexander approached, and, kneeling, delivered up the keys of the city, offering submission for himself and all over whom he exercised authority. Graciously accepting the tender, Alexander entered the great metropolis, where he remained a month, reorganizing the government and otherwise looking after the affairs of the mighty Empire. Having rested his army and afforded it a taste of eastern indulgence—for the Macedonians were a virile race, peculiarly susceptible to such things—Alexander appointed the brave Mazæus governour of Babylon after which he directed his march to Susa, the winter capital of

Persia, lying to the east of the Tigris. On his approach, as at Babylon, the governour, Arbulites, met him with the keys of the city and assurances of loyalty and submission. While at Susa Alexander installed with great pomp Darius' mother and children in the regal palace—the queen, Statira, having died meanwhile—where they continued to reside throughout the conquest with every honour attached to royal station.

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tains; and following a sharp conflict the outlawed community was brought under subjection. After this he continued his march through the mountains to the disputed pass, which he found heavily guarded by the warlike contingent of the marauding outlaws. Attacking them with the troops he had at hand, the contest was long protracted and at one time threatened to be disastrous to his force, but finally overcoming their defences, he put them to utter rout. Exacting hostages for the future good behaviour of the tribe, he rested his troops while awaiting the coming of his main army. On its arrival he continued his march and thus after an interval of several days, approached the last mountain range that intervened between him and the fertile plains of Persis. But in order to cross this height, it was necessary to pass through the Persian or Susan Gates, a lofty defile protected on either side by perpendicular cliffs and defended by Ariobarzanes with forty thousand men, all that remained of the Persian force in the south, after the disastrous battle of Arbela. Believed to be unassailable, the King nevertheless made an effort to force the gorge, but being repulsed withdrew to the plain, where he methodically established his camp as if meditating further effort. However, when darkness had set in, he detached a strong body of cavalry and light infantry and following the base of the mountain ascended the height some

miles away by an obscure bridle path, guided by a shepherd familiar with the country. Reaching the summit of the snow clad mountain, he lay still until night concealed his movements, when making a forced march along the crest of the height he surprised the camp of Ariobarzanes in the early morning. At the sound of his trumpet as he charged the enemy with incredible fury, that part of his army lying in the plain below, renewed the attack at the foot of the pass, whereupon the surprised and bewildered Persians simultaneously beset in front and rear, unable to resist the double onslaught, at last gave way. Seven thousand of the enemy, however, escaped and with these the brave Ariobarzanes hastened to Persepolis with the design of removing the vast treasures stored there in the vaults of the Persian King. Warned of his purpose by Tiridates, the colleague of Ariobarzanes, Alexander with a picked body of troops set out with all speed for Persepolis, which he was so fortunate as to reach in time to prevent the governour from despoiling the treasury, as contemplated. In the battle that ensued Ariobarzanes was killed, but in the sack of the city that followed few lives were sacrificed, as the inhabitants had fled in a mass on news reaching them of the defeat of their army at the mountain pass. Thus Persis, the Mecca of the race and the birthplace of the nation, fell into Alexander's hands and with it the palaces and treasures

of the Persian King, including among the latter one hundred and fifty millions of dollars in coined money and ingots. Such was the treasure hoarded there by the frugal Monarch, a part of which expended in arming Greece and the savage hordes bordering on Macedonia, would have delayed or perhaps prevented Alexander from crossing over into Asia.

Throughout his conquest Alexander had made a grave distinction between native Persians and their subjects in this, that while respecting the gods of the latter, he had steadfastly refused to recognize the religious customs of the Persian race. At Memphis he had rendered honour to Apis, the Egyptian deity; in Jerusalem, to Jehovah, the God of the Israelites; at Babylon, to Belus, the local deity, and so in all the different provinces and cities he paid homage to the accepted gods of the country, but at the Persian capitals would recognize no gods save those of Greece.

Of the reason for the destruction of Persepolis, the birthplace of the Persian people, with its innumerable palaces and altars, there has been much idle and irrelevant comment; many untrue and scandalous stories that pass as of value in current literature. In truth, the act was drastic in the extreme, but so were all things in that rude and wildly superstitious age when coloured by the fervour of religious hatred. For although one hundred and fifty

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city in fact was a thing long contemplated, as emphasizing Greece's resentment. At the same time, it was an act of reparation, intended to strike terror into the heart of the nation that had so long harassed the Grecian people and only awaited opportunity to renew their offenses. The story that Alexander decreed the destruction of the ancient city in mere wantonness, is incredible. It was now his capital and the palaces of its kings with their sumptuous adornments and art treasures belonged to him. In truth the city was destroyed under the unspoken mandate of the Grecian people! That the King indulged in wine at the dinner is to be assumed; most men would be likely to do so at a banquet intended to celebrate the subjugation of a hated nation, in which they had taken the principal part. However, whatever Alexander did throughout his life of an unusual nature, the Greeks sought to make distasteful to mankind by claiming he was drunk. False accusations of that character were the means his subtile enemies took to discredit the man they hated. That these malevolent stories received greater credence than could have been expected by those who conceived them, we who have seen their acceptance and repetition by otherwise creditable writers in our day, cannot doubt.

If, as is quite probable, the torch was applied to Persepolis by the courtesan, Thais, the mistress of Ptolemy, one of Alexander's officers, it made the

act the more humiliating to the Persian people, and, therefore, would appeal strongly to the revengeful Greeks as the fitting thing to do. There is, however, no unanimity of evidence concerning the matter. If true, it cannot be criticised, emphasizing as it was intended to do, the bitter and contemptuous hatred the Grecian people bore the Persian Kings, because of the many indignities they had suffered at their hands; for Persepolis, above every other distinguishing thing, was revered by the Persian people as the sacred hearth stone of their race and the honoured burial place of their Kings.

The riches and splendour of the palaces and the sacred traditions that surrounded the ancient capital made the destruction of Persepolis all the more acceptable to Greece and her outraged gods. But that nothing might be wanting to precipitate the vengeful act, the soldiers of Alexander were stung to madness as they approached the city by meeting, as Curtius relates, four thousand Greek captives—the number is stated differently by different writers—who, after being mutilated in every conceivable manner by their cruel oppressors, had been hidden away, unknown to their countrymen, in this sequestered valley. On beholding the distressing sight, Alexander was moved to tears, and dismounting mingled with the disconsolate throng, offering to send them back to Greece and there provide for them out of his private purse for the remainder of

their lives. But, ashamed of their hideous deformities, they one and all refused the kindly offer. Sorrowing over their fate, he assigned to each a measure of land with attendant slaves in the fertile valley of Persis, bestowing upon them every necessary thing to enable them to pass the remainder of their days in comfort. Such were the causes that led to the destruction of Persepolis, about which so many romantic and unsavoury stories have been told. That the destruction of the capital was a thing determined upon ere the capture of the city we gather from the writings of Plutarch and more particularly from Arrian, generally the most careful and authentic in his statements of any of the ancient historians.

330 B. C.

While resting his army in Persis, Alexander made a winter campaign against the Mardians, a savage tribe of outlaws occupying the mountainous region between the valley of Persis and the Persian Gulf, who among other iniquities had destroyed the great commercial highway between Persepolis and the sea. Perhaps no campaign that the heroic King ever undertook against a barbarous foe was attended with greater hardships. For the savages had their homes in caves and huts in rugged snow clad mountains, and in the battles that ensued the women fought in the open field with the same hardi-

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nothing and from this it was surmised that he had found the story to be true, but for politic reasons concealed the fact. On his return from India he again visited the tomb but found to his great rage, that it had been broken open during his absence and despoiled. Xenophon in his romance, "Anabasis," says Cyrus died in bed surrounded by kindred and friends. Ctesias, a Greek historian and for seventeen years the physician of the Persian monarch, Artaxerxes, tells us that Cyrus was wounded in a battle with the Derbicæ and died three days afterward and was brought home by Cambyses, his son and successor. Little value, however, is attached by students to anything that Ctesias wrote, as his history immediately followed that of Herodotus and had for its purpose the avowed design of impeaching that of the latter. This desire it is related and believed by writers was due to the jealousy of a narrow mind. Moreover, his account was of necessity made acceptable to the monarch he served; for the Persian Kings, lamenting the pitiful ending of the Great Cyrus and for reasons of state, had caused the facts attending his death to be concealed from the Persian people. Herodotus, the father of history and the most careful and dispassionate of all ancient historians in his investigations and statements, thus describes—and undoubtedly truthfully—Cyrus' death at the hands of Tomyris' nomads.

The brave queen it appears from his account, pleaded with Cyrus not to make war on her half-peopled wastes of the north, proclaiming an oath, moreover, that in the event he did so, insatiable as he was of blood, she would glut him to the full therewith. However, Cyrus, greedy of territory and haughtily impatient that there should be any limit to his kingdom, paid no regard to her pleadings and presently the two armies meeting, a decisive battle followed. Herodotus thinks that it was the most obstinate that was ever fought between barbarians. "First of all," he relates, "they stood at a distance and used their bows, and afterwards, when they had emptied their quivers, they engaged in close fight with swords and spears, and thus they continued fighting for a long time, and neither were willing to give way; but at length the Massagetæ got the better, and the greater part of the Persian army was cut in pieces on the spot, and Cyrus himself killed. But Tomyris, having filled a skin with human blood, sought for the body of Cyrus among the slain of the Persians, and having found it, thrust his head into the skin, and insulting the dead body, said, 'Thou hast indeed ruined me though alive and victorious in battle, since thou hast taken my son by stratagem; but I will now glut thee with blood, as I threatened.' Of the many accounts given of the end of Cyrus, this appears to me most worthy of credit."

In this connection it will be noted further on in the conquests of Alexander, that when he had reached the farthermost point in his march to the northeast, he found it necessary to dispatch a force to the west to disperse an army of the Massagetæ—descendants of the nomads who two hundred years before had exterminated Cyrus' force—who, co-operating with the discontented of Sogdiana, had declared war on him. Unskilled in their manner of warfare, however, and outwitted and entrapped by their savage cunning and swiftness, a fate like that which overtook Cyrus' army befell Alexander's generals, their forces being in effect exterminated by the courageous nomads. Afterward, however, leading an army in person against the brave people, Alexander defeated them in battle, driving them back to the wastes from which they had emerged. It was these nomads and kindred Tartars that the armies of Rome found it impossible to overcome in battle and who through their cunning and courage forever limited Roman conquests in the far East.

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return to his own country or at least cause a division of the army of invasion. The Grecian uprising, however, though furthered with material aid and the active sympathy of Greece, resulted disastrously, the Spartan army with its auxiliary forces being utterly defeated by the Macedonians led by Antipater, Alexander's governour. When the news of Agis' defeat and death—for he was killed on the field of battle—reached Ecbatana, the forces that had hopefully joined Darius or were on the way, disappointed in their hopes, dispersed to their homes, leaving him with nothing but the remnant of the army with which he had fought the battle of Arbela.* Because of this defection and being unable to marshal any considerable force to oppose his formidable enemy, Darius fled to the east with such troops as he could command.

On reaching Ecbatana, Alexander took possession of the city and the vast treasures of the Persian King abandoned by the latter in his flight. These amounted in coined money and ingots of gold and silver, with those captured at Susa and Persepolis, to two hundred and seven millions of dollars. In addition to this Alexander had previously acquired the considerable treasures of Damascus

*When Alexander heard of the dispersion of Darius' forces at Ecbatana and the causes therefor, he expressed his regret that the conflict in Greece, had not been delayed until he had met and defeated the forces Darius was collecting at Ecbatana to meet him in battle.

and Babylon, but of their extent we are uninformed. And similarly we have no knowledge of the great value of the jewels and ornaments of the Persian King that fell into his hands, the accumulation of centuries of thrift.*

While resting his army at Ecbatana, Alexander organized the government of the city and neighbouring provinces, appointing Parmenio governour and Harpalus treasurer of the empire. This last appointment proved most unfortunate, as Harpalus, unable to resist the temptations of his office, defaulted in his trust while Alexander was in India, and fled with some eight hundred talents to Greece where he was finally assassinated in order to obtain possession of his great wealth.†

The capture of Ecbatana, the last of the Persian capitals, while gratifying, was greatly lessened in practical value by the escape of Darius, as nothing could be said to be finally determined so long as he was at liberty and continued the struggle for domination. Accordingly Alexander lost no time in instituting measures for the pursuit of the fleeing King;

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*The coined money and ingots of gold and silver, amounting to two hundred and seven millions of dollars, referred to above, it has been estimated, would be equal in our day to the sum of eight hundred millions of dollars.

†The preferment of this able but—as it proved—corrupt officer was thought to have been due to the friendship he evinced for Alexander when the latter, as a prince, was in exile; for Alexander was noted for the extreme gratitude he showed throughout his life to everyone who had done him a service either before or after ascending the throne.

and of this pursuit, led by Alexander in person, there is nothing in the annals of kings or of royal adventure to be compared to its hardships and unique features, conducted as it was without cessation in the heat of mid-summer and much of the way amid mountain wastes and waterless deserts. The prize was the Persian Empire without further strife, for on the capture of Darius alive depended the yielding of every part of his extended kingdom. Taking with him the pick of the Companions and light mounted troops, including the Bowmen and the better part of the Phalanx, he set out hoping to overtake Darius ere he could reach the Caspian Gates, a mountain defile, two hundred and seventy-five miles to the east. In this, however, he was unsuccessful and on the eleventh day reached Rhagæ, fifty miles from the Gates where he was compelled to stop and rest his army, worn out by the continuous march, many of his soldiers having been left behind on the way from exhaustion. While waiting, uncertain as to the course Darius had taken, deserters came into the camp and from them he learned that the fugitive had already passed the Gates in his flight to the east. Hastening his departure, Alexander set out afresh on the fifth day and reaching the defile without stopping, was so fortunate as to find its mouth unguarded. Boldly entering the Pass or series of passes, he emerged four hours afterward at the further extremity of the

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out result for Bessus and his fellow conspirators alarmed at Alexander's continued pursuit had meanwhile continued their flight. Disappointed, Alexander did not wait to rest his exhausted troops but hurried on continuing the pursuit until noon of the next day. Here he reached a small hamlet on the border of a waterless desert and from the inhabitants of the village learned that Bessus had passed the preceding day and was now hastening his flight by night marches. Despairing of overtaking the fugitive by the beaten road, with his exhausted troops, Alexander inquired if there was not some shorter way by which he might lessen the distance and so hope to overtake the enemy. In answer to his inquiries he was told there was a half marked path across the desert, traversed infrequently by camels and dromedaries, which intercepted the road Bessus was following and that greatly lessened the distance. This path he at once determined to follow and procuring a trustworthy guide set out late in the day with five hundred men, made up of the most rugged of the officers and soldiers whose strength and courage had enabled them to keep up with the column thus far. Marching all night across the waterless waste he, in the gray of the morning, came upon Bessus' straggling column immediately in his front. But of the five hundred men who had set out the previous evening, only sixty had been able to keep the pace. With

this remnant of brave men Alexander immediately charged the Persian force, which, worn with the march and affrighted at the very name of the Macedonian, offered only a feeble resistance. But meanwhile and on the heralding of Alexander's approach, the conspiring chiefs had hastened to the cart where Darius lay concealed and explaining to him the desperate situation, bade him mount a horse and fly with them. But this he refused to do whereupon in their rage they transfixed him with their javelins and mounting their horses, escaped. For a time following the attack great confusion and alarm existed and in the search at once instituted by Alexander for Darius no trace of the unfortunate King could be found. At last, however, a Grecian soldier discovered him as he lay dying and at once bestowed upon him such offices of mercy as lay in his power. But the unhappy monarch was beyond the help of man and raising himself thanked the soldier and bade him express his gratitude to Alexander for his chivalrous treatment of Statira, adding a grateful prayer to Ahura-Mazda, the god of his country, that the throne was to pass to so generous a man. Shortly after Alexander himself approached the spot but too late to hear Darius' words, or offer him aid of any kind. Thus perished the last of the long line of Achæmenian Kings.

It is not difficult to picture the Conqueror's disappointment and regret at this unfortunate ending

after his unexampled march. For to have taken the Persian King alive would have quieted the kingdom, as Darius, wearied with the struggle, was disposed to yield without further effort. Tenderly caring for the body of the fallen Monarch, Alexander caused it to be embalmed and taken in state to Persepolis, where it was given royal sepulchre with all the honour and ceremonial observance that attended the burial of a Persian King. While attending to these matters, Artabazus, an exalted Persian noble, and three of his sons came into camp and tendered submission; and this greatly to Alexander's delight, for the nobleman had previously been a part of the entourage of the Persian King and had remained loyal to him to the last. Indeed, anticipating Bessus' treason, he had sought to prevail upon Darius to flee with him, but on the King's refusing to put himself under his protection, and conscious that he could not prevent the treason Bessus meditated, and fearful for his own life and that of his followers, he had detached himself with the small force under his command, seeking safety in the neighbouring solitudes.

Artabazus is described as the noblest of Persians; the father of nine sons, ninety-five years of age, rugged of health and still in the saddle, fighting bravely for his country. It was Alexander's delight to honour and have about his person and in positions of trust, men of the stamp of this gallant

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love for him growing with each succeeding year. The belief of his followers in his wisdom and ability to achieve all, and more than he promised may be said to have been absolute. This was illustrated early in the war in the great and decisive battle of Issus where the Macedonians were suddenly compelled to fight the overpowering force that unexpectedly intervened and cut off their line of retreat. Looking forward to meeting the Persian force on the plains of Sochi, several marches away, the Macedonians suddenly found the army of the enemy (six hundred thousand strong, as against their force of thirty thousand men) in their rear and effectually cutting off their line of retreat. Responding, however, to Alexander's assurances of victory, with cheers and cries to be led to battle, they turned about and marched to meet the Persian forces, as if the conflict was one of the King's planning—a decisive victory following their courageous effort and Alexander's generalship. The soldiers' love for their King and his genius in meeting perplexing situations was illustrated in a different way in his Parthian campaign, where he found his army hampered with great quantities of baggage—the personal accumulations of the war—that seriously impeded if it did not jeopardize the success of the far eastern campaign. In this emergency Alexander collected his private baggage and, piling it in the middle of the camp, set it on fire, the

assembled soldiers looking on in wonder and astonishment. But accepting the suggestion the act implied in good spirit, they in turn assembled their personal belongings and followed the example of the King. Thus of its own volition and without friction the army was again placed on a war footing and fitted to meet the long and arduous campaign before it.

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cruel tribe who had their haunts in the fastnesses of the mountain district. Having by this expedition made secure the great highway bordering the sea and the remainder of his army having now rejoined him, he turned his face to the east, where Bessus, meanwhile had been proclaimed King of Asia, under the title of Artaxerxes.

When, however, Alexander had advanced far on his way he was compelled to turn back because of the revolt of the Persian governour, Satibarzanes, whom he had left in charge of Aria, one of the provinces traversed. Making a forced march, he fell upon the surprised forces of the recreant satrap like a whirlwind, killing three thousand of his followers and putting the remainder to flight. Installing a loyal governour he afterwards directed his march to the southeast, to forestall an uprising threatened by one of Bessus' followers. Successful in this, he made a march of a thousand miles to the south to bring under subjection the nomadic and other tribes of the remote and little-known region of Drangiana, which had been led to take the field against him. Having effected this, he directed his course to the valley of the Cophen (modern Cabul), where he went into winter quarters preparatory to crossing the Paropamisus Mountains in pursuit of Bessus, who occupied the Bactrian territory to the north.

It was during the terrible marches and attendant warfare of the far East that occurred the notable conspiracies of Alexander's reign. The first was that of Philotas, the trusted commander of the Companions, who, with other members of his family, had occupied throughout Alexander's reign the places of greatest honour in the King's gift. Unsuspicious of danger, Alexander was resting in camp, when a trusted attendant brought him word that a conspiracy existed to murder him on the succeeding day. Aroused to action, Alexander instituted a searching investigation, when it appeared that the plot to assassinate him had been made known to Philotas two days before with the expectation that he would instantly bring it to the attention of the King. He doing nothing, however, and the day passing, it had again been brought to his notice. But another day passing and he still failing to warn Alexander or arrest the conspirators, and the need of action admitting of no further delay, the informer at last brought the matter directly to the attention of the King. Upon Philotas being questioned, he replied that he had not regarded the matter as serious, but upon being put to the torture, confessed the existence of a conspiracy and gave the names of those implicated in the plot, and among others his father, Parmenio. Thereupon he was condemned and put to death. Dimnos, a brave and resolute man, who, it appeared, had been se-

lected as the agent to kill the King, escaped the disgraceful fate of Philotas by committing suicide at the moment of his arrest, confirming by his act the existence of the conspiracy, if further confirmation had been necessary.

The great importance of the command held by Parmenio as governour of Ecbatana, the key to all central Persia and the treasure house of the empire, made it necessary for Alexander to exercise the greatest caution in the execution of the death-sentence pronounced against that officer by the army after his son's confession. He accordingly dispatched a secret messenger to Ecbatana, eight hundred and sixty miles distant, ordering his generals there to put the governour to death, which command they at once proceeded to carry out on the receipt of the King's mandate.

It is probable that Philotas, who was of a haughty and discontented disposition and much given to exaggerating the importance of his deeds, had long meditated the treasonable act, for he had been outspoken in his criticisms of Alexander, ascribing the success of the latter to the accomplishments of himself and his father, Parmenio. These malevolent carpings were well-known to the King, but being tolerant of such things, and because of the long service of Parmenio, he had refused to seriously notice the treasonable utterances of the arrogant young noble. From all the accounts we have it ap-

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beyond every other general. This last fact, however, instead of ameliorating the situation, made it all the more perplexing, for it was manifest that he could not be expected to be loyal to Alexander after the execution of his son, and this, coupled with his great popularity, made him a menace the extent of which could not possibly be determined in advance. Under such circumstances, Alexander would have been justified in putting him to death, even if not a participant in the conspiracy, under the approved custom of the time, namely, that where a member of a family was executed for treason, all other members of the family should be put to death; this, manifestly, because their loyalty could not thereafter be depended upon. But in this case, Parmenio being himself guilty, his death naturally followed. The great love the soldiers bore him and the importance of the position he held at Ecbatana, the key to all central and western Persia, rendered his death a political necessity, irrespective of his guilt, if Alexander was to go forward, confident of the integrity of the commander of the most important strategical post in his empire.

Many circumstances connected with Parmenio's recent services, now that his son had declared him to be a traitor, perplexed and disturbed Alexander. In the first place, Parmenio, it was apparent, should have silenced the treasonable speeches and tendencies of his son, with which he had long been famil-

iar. His failure to do this, it was manifest, had led to the conspiracy whereby the King's life was endangered and the result of his far-seeing purpose jeopardized. Moreover, in the light of Philotas' act and confession, Parmenio's instructions to his sons, now brought to notice, was made to bear a most sinister interpretation. "Care first for yourselves," Parmenio wrote, "then for your dear ones, thus we shall reach the end we aim at." The recent record of Parmenio himself, in view of what had occurred, also excited critical investigation. It was remembered of him that being despatched into Asia in advance of the main army, he had suffered unexpected repulse at the hands of the enemy—an unfortunate and unlooked for opening to the great campaign. At the Granicus, where he commanded the left wing, as he did in every conflict, he had sought out Alexander on the battle-field, advising delay, advice that the latter disregarded and wisely, as it appeared. In the battle of Issus he had been driven from the field and the army saved from overwhelming disaster only through Alexander's victory over the main Persian force. Later, when Darius proposed a compromise to terminate the war, offering his daughter in marriage to Alexander and according to him the territory west of the Euphrates, Parmenio had advised its acceptance! At Tarsus, when Alexander was thought to be at the point of death, had he followed Parmenio's warn-

ing—or suggestion—he would have dismissed Philip, the King's physician, to whose skill and courage the latter owed his recovery! At the battle of Arbela, Parmenio had again suffered disaster as at Issus, necessitating the return of Alexander from hot pursuit of Darius, thereby permitting the latter's escape—a misfortune of incalculable harm, prolonging as it did the war for several years! Thus it appeared on a review of Parmenio's record that he had lacked in effectiveness or loyalty—perhaps both! These unfortunate circumstances, now remembered, together with Parmenio's countenance of Philotas' treasonable utterances, and his direct implication in the conspiracy by his son, it is apparent sealed the unfortunate nobleman's doom.

In view of all this, Alexander seems to have acted with prudence and decision, recognizing that after Philotas' death, Parmenio, if pardoned for his part in the conspiracy to murder his King, could no longer be trusted. And that being so, the importance of his office and the affection in which he was held by his soldiers rendered his instant death a military necessity, if a possible revolt of his command, ignorant of the circumstances of the conspiracy, was to be averted. Nor can Alexander be said to have prejudged Philotas or acted hastily; for his faith in himself and belief in the absolute loyalty of those about him had always been so marked as to be notable. It was first evinced at

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less bonhomie and democratic tolerance that the Macedonian Kings had always evinced; a freedom of manner that had characterized Philip in an extreme degree, and which Alexander had equally displayed on mounting the throne. With growing power and added responsibilities greater reserve was apparent in the King's manner, and less disposition to ignore the acts and speeches that threatened his life or jeopardized the fruits of his far-seeing policy and labour. As the source of all authority and the recognized head of a great empire, he was quite unconsciously taking on the air of a just but omnipotent ruler. But it was not until treason, meditating murder, reared its head in the case of Philotas that the King's apprehensions were fully aroused; that fear beset him lest his life and its far-reaching purposes should be subverted through contrived murder. Then, seemingly, all the fierceness engendered by years of warfare and its attendant horrors and savage purpose, swept away the amiable tolerance of other days and the traitor's guilt, once proven—accentuated as it was by traitorous utterances in the past—asserted itself and the sword fell.

In the early days of his reign, as already suggested, it is probable Alexander would have pardoned Philotas—as in the Sardis disclosures concerning the Lyncestian Prince—or, at most, banished him for a few months or held him under care-

less surveillance. But with changed conditions, the temper of the King had changed and far from Macedonia, remote from succour, surrounded by hidden and open enemies, with the destinies of the earth in his keeping, the tolerance of the young emperor gave place to the implacable spirit of an absolute monarch in whose life the fortunes of mankind rested. In a moment he became stern and unforgiving where his kingly prerogatives were questioned or his life threatened, though in other respects we have no reason to believe that he was greatly changed from his former self.

But the quick death of Philotas and his accomplices, indicating clearly the temper of the King, did not at once silence the disloyal spirit abroad among his overwrought followers, as was evinced by Kleitus' treasonable utterances and what is known as the Conspiracy of the Pages. But in connection with these unfortunate occurrences, as in the case of Philotas, the King showed so resolute a purpose to stamp out treason by quenching it in the blood of the traitor that nothing further of a like nature occurred during the few remaining years of his life.

The need there was, however, for resolute action was illustrated by the Conspiracy of the Pages, fostered by Kallisthenes, a Grecian agitator and scribe open and vehement in his disparagement of Alexander. In this case it appeared that a youth named Hermolaus, one of the pages, having been

flogged (the usual disciplinary measure of the Macedonian service in the case of these youths) for some impudent offence, he had been greatly incensed thereat; and dwelling much upon his grievance was finally led to attempt the King's life. Seeking to accomplish this, he prevailed upon two of his youthful associates—historians do not agree as to the number—to join him in the attempt when they next watched by the King's bedside; and their purpose would undoubtedly have been effected had it not happened that the King did not return to his tent on the night they were to make the attempt.*

When the conspiracy failed of consummation as premeditated, one of the youths becoming frightened at the enormity of the crime contemplated, confessed his part therein, whereupon those implicated were subjected to trial, and upon being found guilty, were executed. Of the fate of Kallisthenes, to whose malign influence the treason of the pages was generally ascribed, and who Alexander placed in restraint, historians are in doubt. Curtius, upon whose testimony little reliance is to be placed, claims that he was put to the torture and afterward hanged as a traitor, his treatment, whatever it

*It is recounted that on the day preceding the night of the proposed murder, an old crone who frequented the camp, and who the common soldiers believed to possess supernatural powers, meeting Alexander, warned him not to visit his tent or bed the following night; and he thinking there was some good reason therefor, that she did not wish to divulge, acted upon her hint and so saved his life.

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believed to be inspired by Aristotle which forwarded, if it did not precipitate, the attempt on his life. The estrangement—if so strong a word may be used—was first observed in Alexander's rebuke of Aristotle for publishing matters pertaining to the art of government that were believed to be the exclusive privilege of rulers—things well-known today, but matters of private knowledge at that time. Alexander's impatience at the occurrence was heightened by the fact that he contemplated nothing less than the conquest of the world and its government by himself in person; his impatience, therefore, does not appear altogether unreasonable, however absurd it may appear to us in our enlightened age. He is also said to have been offended by Aristotle's unsolicited advice offered him—an adept in the art of government—as to the distinction he should observe between the favour accorded civilized and barbarous peoples. But these annoyances and suspicions, if of real occurrence, were only momentary, as Alexander's actions throughout abundantly demonstrated. For among other evidences of his favour, he is said to have sent Aristotle eight hundred talents (quite nine hundred thousand dollars) from the treasuries of Persia to enable him to actively prosecute his varied researches. Moreover, he continued throughout his life to collect from every part of the world such strange animals as he could find to add to Aristotle's zoological collection, evincing

thereby the esteem in which he held the great philosopher and his desire, as well, to honour Athens by adding to its incomparable treasures.

Aristotle, who comprehended above all men the essential principles of good government, while especially favourable to democratic methods, under enlightened and stable conditions, had nothing but contempt for the petty governments of Greece and especially of Athens, where oratory swayed the multitude and had usurped the place of discernment and common sense; where idle and emotional citizens had crowded into the background those whose integrity and wisdom would have been of incalculable value to the state. Aristotle moved his school to Athens the first year of Alexander's reign and through it and his research and wisdom and labour re-created the intellectual life of Athens; organized its thought, gave it new vigour, new direction, greater scope and higher aims, so that much of the glory of Athens is due to this sublime man. While he despised its corrupt and ineffective government and the demagogues who too often swayed it, he still looked forward to the unity of Greece and the regeneration of Athens, when Hellas should govern the world and Athens be its heart and brain. In the consummation of this he looked with confidence to Alexander, who, through his ambitious strivings, he believed, would at last realize the ideal of monarchy and through its agency achieve the unifica-

tion of Greece and its final domination of the world, politically and intellectually. Reflecting on the work of the great philosopher and the events of his period, it is remarkable that in the experience of mankind, three exalted men, Alexander, Aristotle and Demosthenes, pre-eminent in their way above all others of whom history treats, should have lived in the same period to dominate the world for all time, the evolution of the ages adding continually to their fame.

It was through Aristotle's recommendation that Alexander invited Kallisthenes to accompany him in his invasion of Persia; but unadvisedly it appears, as Aristotle subsequently refers to the scribe as a man lacking judgment. Kallisthenes is further reported to have been of a vain and arrogant disposition—a fault common to the literary men of that age. At one period of the conquest he was unstinted in praise of Alexander and boasted that his fulsome accounts of the latter's earlier campaigns in Asia would make the King immortal! He was, however, at a later period, open and vehement in his denunciation of him for taking on the state and trappings of an oriental Monarch, seeking by his ill-timed criticisms to cast odium upon the King for conforming to the customs of the country of which he was now the ruler. In this he evinced his narrow-mindedness, as did those similarly displeased. But his animosity has been excused, in-

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CHAPTER XXII

KLEITUS. HIS DEATH; NECESSITY THEREFOR

330 B. C.

WITHOUT being conscious of it, the most effective of the malicious utterances of Alexander's enemies was the false accusation of intemperate indulgence in wine they brought against him. For the revival of the slander in our abstemious age has cast so baleful a shadow over his memory that it has practically overshadowed his memorable achievements and destroyed the interest the multitude would otherwise feel in his personality. So that to speak of him in praise before the misinformed and unlettered is to elicit a cry of scorn and the retort, "Bah! A drunkard!" This notwithstanding the evidence of contemporaries to the contrary, fortified as it is by the wonderful achievements of his short life. Plutarch, the most impartial of Grecian historians, who wrote after the hatred and prejudices of the early Greeks had died out, says:

"That which gave people to think so of him—that he drank immoderately—was, that when he had nothing else to do, he loved to sit long and talk rather than drink, and over every cup hold a long conversation. For when his affairs called upon him, he would not be detained, as other generals often

were, either by wine, or sleep, nuptial solemnities, spectacles, or any other diversion whatsoever, a convincing argument of which is, that in the short time he lived he accomplished so many and so great actions."

Had Alexander possessed a weak mind or a frail body, it is possible that even moderate use of wine might have affected him adversely, as his enemies claimed, but under the circumstances and partaking of it as he did, it is impossible. Wise in all he did and abstemious in his appetite, it was not in his nature to partake to excess of any indulgence of this nature. It is the mischievous slander, so insidiously circulated by his enemies at the time, that he was intoxicated when he executed the vengeance of the state on Kleitus, that makes the act repulsive to those who have been led to believe the story of his intemperance to be true. Moreover, the fact that the treason of Kleitus and those who sympathized with him in his treasonable speech is supposed not to have reached the point of actually planning Alexander's death—as in the case of Philotas and the King's pages—has made mankind look with more favour on his case than it otherwise would. It was, however, in truth more harmful than secret and concerted treason in this, that its public exploitation had the effect to weaken the morale of the army as a whole and fatally undermine its discipline and effectiveness by making disloyalty appear to be a

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bitter and contemptuous manner. Professing to disregard the disrespect shown him, Alexander laughed and, turning to one with whom he was conversing, said: "You Grecians must look upon us Macedonians as mere savages." However, on Kleitus' continuing to shout out his scurrilous abuse, to the shame of all present and the great disparagement of the King's dignity, Alexander arose from his seat to punish the offending officer. Allowing himself, however, with politic forbearance, to be restrained, the attendant officers of the King laid hold of Kleitus and forced him from the tent. But, being full of venomous hatred, he hurriedly reentered by another door and commenced anew and with still greater vehemence to revile and defame the King. Whereupon, the situation being intolerable, Alexander grasped a spear and put the disaffected officer to death on the spot.

In his malign hatred and determination to outrage the sensibilities of the King and belittle him in the eyes of men, Kleitus, among other things, was in the habit of twitting him with the fact that had he, Kleitus, not intervened to ward off the blow intended for Alexander at the Granicus, he would not then be alive to take on the oriental forms and ostentatious trappings of Persian royalty! This silly taunt clearly illustrated Kleitus' petty soul and traitorous spirit, for at the Granicus he was in command of a troop of horse whose special duty it was

to guard the King's person, so that he but performed a simple duty of his office in warding off a blow intended for his master; what, indeed, every loyal officer did when the King or a companion was threatened and what the King himself did in every battle in defense of those who fought by his side!

Alexander's exercise of kingly power in Kleitus' case has been adversely commented upon, notwithstanding the necessity there was for drastic action, if his person and authority were to be respected and the fruit of his labours preserved. The putting to death of the truculent officer, while seemingly dictated by passion and to have occurred on the spur of the moment, had, it is probable, been coldly calculated and its effect foreseen. For at the time the situation was such that it was impracticable to create partisan turmoil in the army by a public trial of Kleitus—an old and tried soldier—for treason. It was equally impossible to publicly refuse to do so; and because of this it is probable Alexander desired that his followers should believe he put the officer to death in a passion of rage. But it is not possible that he should have thought the mischievous ingenuity of his enemies would add, as they did, that he was also drunk!

Such are the simple facts attending Kleitus' execution, stripped of all sentimentality. As King of Persia, Alexander could not, any more than his predeccssors, recognize in his intercourse with his

Persian subjects any distinction between the greatest prince and the lowest peasant, so far as personal equality was concerned, inasmuch as both were required by centuries of observance to treat him with respectful homage. He stood alone, and it was apparent that if the prestige of the kingly office was destroyed, all authority over Persia would vanish and chaos reign. It is not strange that Alexander, after the deed, should have retired to his tent and, denying himself to all, meditated for days on Kleitus' treason and the changed condition of affairs and the loss of personal friendships it had involved in the case of men of Kleitus' disposition. Nor is it strange when the soldiers, in their resentment, would have cast the traitor's body to the dogs, denying it sepulchre, that the King, coming forth, should intervene, giving the dead such honourable burial as would have been accorded him in the days of his greatest strength and glory.

Kleitus, and those sharing his distemper, it is charity to believe, were unbalanced by the long war and its bloodshed and hardships. His great intimacy with Alexander before the latter ascended the throne, moreover, seemingly made it impossible for him to recognize and accept the changed surroundings of his former friend and the necessity of the latter's conforming in his wider field of life to the etiquette of kingly rule if he was to govern peaceably and acceptably; if he was in truth to be

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lates. It would have been like him. But, in truth, why should he have sorrowed over the death of a man, once a friend, who had become an unappeaseable enemy of himself and the state? Kleitus' death, while abrupt, was clearly an executive act, the undoubted prerogative of the King of Persia, and also of Alexander as military leader, intent upon the preservation of the discipline and loyalty of his army. It appears, moreover, to have been a deliberate act of the endangered King, goaded finally to act by the fact that the traitorous speeches of the truculent officer (and others similarly disaffected) menaced not only his life, but the safety and effectiveness of the army. It was a military problem, and the wonder is, not that Alexander finally acted, but that the arm of the threatened King was so long withheld. For Kleitus' truculence and seditious speeches not only threatened the service, but menaced the King's prestige by destroying respect for his office—a thing all important to the authority and personal safety of an Oriental Monarch. The abruptness and dramatic character of the deed disturbs the equanimity of mankind, forgetful that the King's situation and that of his army, in a remote and hostile country, demanded an object lesson—an immediate and effective cure for spreading treason. And Alexander, being wise in the ways of men, took the most effective means of attaining the end desired,

namely, the summary execution of the traitor. Of this there can be no doubt. Treason was thus made odious and the King and his army and his conquests survived!

In much of the comment concerning Alexander in connection with this unhappy occurrence, it is as if modern compilers expected of him—the stern and authoritative autocrat of the world—moderation that could be born only of timidity or cowardice, neither of which was possible in a King who ruled and conquered in an age of savagery and warlike adventure and who possessed withal, and of necessity, the courage of the lion and the headlong and unconquerable determination of the lion to overcome those who threatened him. Absolute in an age of turmoil, Alexander's life was passed amid enemies, in an atmosphere of strife and intrigue, yet was he noted to the end for his moderation and trust in those about him; a man of action with the ambition and virility of a god, he yet retained throughout life the generosity and many of the simple virtues of his youth. His resolute courage made his conquests possible, and it was this that preserved him unharmed from the machinations of the evilly inclined about his person; yet without impairing in any way his love for his friends or the abiding faith of his followers in his honour and desire to deal justly by everyone.

Except for the awakened energy with which Alexander pursued and stamped out treason wherever it threatened his life or the disintegration of his army, or the destruction of his hopes, he seems to have changed but little in his habits or intercourse with those about him, from his former self. Plutarch, who studied his character and habits with greater care and sympathy than any other writer of antiquity (although in several instances misled, like others, by the slanderous stories of the Greeks of Alexander's time), gives this pleasing picture of the manner in which the Great Conqueror occupied himself when public affairs permitted him some leisure: "When he was free from employment, after he was up and had sacrificed to the gods, he used to sit down to breakfast, and then spend the rest of the day in hunting, or writing memoirs, giving decisions on military questions, or reading. In marches that required no great haste, he would practise shooting as he went along, or to mount a chariot, and alight from it in full speed. Sometimes, for sport's sake, he would hunt foxes and go fowling. When he came in for the evening, after he had bathed and was anointed, he would call for his bakers and chief cooks to know if they had his dinner ready. He never cared to dine till it was pretty late and beginning to be dark, and was wonderfully circumspect at meals that every one who sat with him should be served alike and with proper

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upon the multitude and spared no detail to make his court the equal in magnificence to that of the pleasure-loving kings he succeeded. In this opulence of life all joined, for the Persian ruling class soon learned to love him as if one of themselves; and as time passed, his love of luxury and display came to be looked upon complacently by his Macedonian followers; indeed, the lives of his generals who succeeded him in power in the far East showed that the luxuries of the orient held them as it has all who have been subjected to its subtle influences.

"After an entertainment and when he was free from employment," Plutarch further recounts—"Alexander was wont to bathe, and then perhaps he would sleep till noon, and sometimes all day long. He was so very temperate in his eating that when any rare fish or fruits were sent him, he would distribute them among his friends, and often reserve nothing for himself. His table, however, was always magnificent, the expense of it still increasing with his good fortune, till it amounted to ten thousand drachmas ($1,800.00) a day, to which sum he limited it, and beyond this he would suffer none to pay out in any entertainment where he himself was the guest."

Throughout the conquest, as may be gathered from what has already been said, Alexander encountered many annoyances because of the insane jealousies of the Macedonians. "He could not,"

historians relate, "do a favour to an Asiatic subject without provoking a selfish protest. When he presented a thousand talents to the Indian monarch, Taxiles, whose land had furnished his army ten times as much, a Macedonian officer cried out, 'Must we come so far as India to find a man worthy of such a gift?'" To accomplish his ends, however, Alexander good-naturedly overlooked these ebullitions of temper. "Let them grumble," he laughed, "so long as they obey," and their obedience was the marvel of men. Comparing Alexander in this respect with the experiences of Cæsar and Napoleon, history recounts many occurrences in which the last named rulers were disappointed in their expectations by the soldiers they believed devoted to their interests; but whatever the circumstances or however remote Alexander's officers might be, they acted with the loyalty and energy they would have shown under his immediate eye. No matter how far away, his command was faithfully followed, every detail painstakingly observed. In the accomplishment of this, difficult rivers were crossed, mountainous stretches, vast forests and desert wastes uncomplainingly traversed, grievous marches prolonged, hardships cheerfully endured, perilous labours achieved, tasks seemingly impossible of accomplishment, consummated! No body of soldiers ever followed another with such loyal obedience, or so great

a desire to meet his utmost expectations. Not one but was prepared to sacrifice his life in his master's cause and when the arrogance and personal vanity of the Macedonians is remembered, their love and abnegation is a matter of surprise and wonder. One and all from the highest to the lowest, possessed an ardent affection for the young King, at once their leader and friend, the sharer of every danger, who, because of his superior understanding, cheerful endurance of personal hardships, intrepid fearlessness in battle, and superhuman military genius, they believed to be unequalled among soldiers and the foremost of all men.

Such was the fidelity and friendship of Alexander's officers and followers before and after the execution of Kleitus and the other conspirators; and from their obedience and love—it was something more than loyalty—it is evident that his every act had their hearty approval, based as it was on a belief in his unimpeachable honour and unalterable disposition to deal justly by every one.

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fortresses; of wide rivers, rugged mountains, impassable morasses, deep ravines and waterless deserts. A country wherein Alexander's losses from mountain rigors and the hardships of the desert and other natural causes were to outnumber those suffered in actual combat with the enemy. Save that part of Sogdiana called the garden of the Orient, the land was rugged and uninviting, the population consisting of hunters, half savage nomads, hardy shepherds and sturdy farmers; men who looked upon war as a pleasant diversion and an agreeable source of profit. Into this little known and inhospitable land the army was to plunge, to become lost to the western world oftentimes for months but in the end to emerge triumphant! But because of the remoteness of the country and attendant hardships as in far off India, the chroniclers of the time seem to have lent only an inattentive ear to what occurred, lagging behind, loath to endure the deprivations and dangers of the ever changing and uncertain war. Thus it fell out that many incidents of the conquest of great importance and supreme peril, are barely mentioned or if recorded, the records have been lost in the long interval that has since elapsed. Because of this later writers are able to give only the barest details of many of the stirring incidents of the war. Indeed, no details whatever of some of the more important features of the campaigns—for there

were several—are known to us. The population of the disputed territory was made up mainly of scattered tribes, separated by mountains and deserts, and while frequently assembled and marshalled as armies, much of the warfare was of a desultory or guerrilla character. Normally, the contest was carried on by Alexander with the regard he paid to enlightened usage but at other times, with extreme severity—as in Sogdiana—in retaliation for acts of savage cruelty upon the part of the inhabitants. Because of this and the stirring nature of the campaigns, there still lingers in the more remote parts of Turkestan, many interesting traditions of the Great Conqueror, who was known to the inhabitants of the east as Iskender.

Anxious to encounter Bessus who was active in inciting the country to arms, Alexander allowed himself to be misled by the mild weather of a forward spring into an attempt to cross the Paropamisus Mountain (Hindu Kush) in the shelter of which he had wintered, earlier than he should have done. And unfortunately, on the second morning of the ascent of the great mountain (the loftier stretches of which reached an altitude of 23,000 feet) the rugged height was swept by a furious hurricane, which lasted many days, clogging the roads and filling the passes with snow and ice. Harassed and delayed, the army made little progress, so that ere the summit was reached many days

after starting out, the provisions were exhausted and the wearied soldiers compelled in consequence to subsist on the flesh of their half-starved animals and the roots of the stunted shrubs they found amid the rocks. In consequence of this and the bitter cold great numbers perished. Many crazed or in despair of life hurled themselves from the dizzy cliffs; others blinded by the snow wandered away and were lost in the cañons and crevasses of the mountains. Still greater numbers perished from weakness and hunger or were frozen where they lay asleep, wood with which to build fires being unobtainable. It was amid such hardships, the horror of which was heightened by frequent and destructive avalanches of snow and ice, that the soldiers slowly surmounted the storm-swept mountain. To add to their dejection, on reaching the plain beyond after a descent almost as destructive to life as the ascent of the great height, they found it devastated by Bessus' troops and void of shelter or food. Encouraging the drooping spirits of his followers, the King, who marched among his men sharing the hardships of a common soldier, led them on at last to a more hospitable land where they were rested and refreshed. Fretting at the delay, so destructive to his plans, Alexander waited until the army had regained its strength, when he again set out in pursuit of the regicide Bessus. But that wily Prince, apprehensive of the result, did not wait

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his approach, but fled northward to a more secure region beyond the Oxus—modern Jihun. In the pursuit, and as if the presence of the traitorous Persian foretold disaster, many soldiers lost their lives in crossing a waterless desert that lay to the south of the great river beyond which Bessus had sought safety. For in the march across this desolate waste, into which the army had been misled, great numbers perished from thirst and the intolerable heat. But the more hardy, pushing on and at last reaching water, hurried back to those who survived, Alexander himself aiding, nor would he take off his armour, it is recounted, until the last man had been rescued.

Having no boats with which to cross the Oxus in pursuit of Bessus, Alexander made use of his tent-skins—as at the Danube—filling them with straw and using them as floats. However, the pursuit with its attendant horrors neared an end for upon Bessus' crossing the Oxus, and thus quitting Bactria, the Bactrian cavalry, a superb body of men, would no longer follow him believing he would not in the end be able to withstand or evade his pursuer. This fatal defection greatly discouraged Bessus' immediate followers and at last, terrified at Alexander's rapid and determined pursuit, they sent word to him that they were ready to deliver up their leader. And this they did, Bessus being surprised and seized, under their guidance,

in a small village by a troop of Macedonian cavalry. Following this the regicide was scourged, confined in chains, stripped of his princely raiment and held with a collar about his neck beside the road along which the soldiers were marching. On approaching the spot, Alexander stopped and demanded of the prisoner why he had betrayed and afterward assassinated Darius, his benefactor and cousin—for the regicide was of royal blood. To which Bessus answered in excuse that others high in the service of the Persian government had approved of all that was done, some of them, moreover, being partners with him in the act. Refraining from further questioning, Alexander ordered the recreant nobleman to be returned to Bactria where he was tried before an assembly of notables and in punishment of his crimes, and more especially that of betraying his King, it was ordered that he should have his nose and ears cut off, after which he should be sent to Ecbatana—on reaching which city, to conclude the account of him—he was put to death by his enraged countrymen, the Medes and Persians.

Alexander's ordering in regard to Bessus' punishment, or permitting it if ordered by the notables who tried him, was altogether unlike the King and out of the ordinary and has been much criticised: and because the severities inflicted on the Persian prince had an effect different in some respects from

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tude! On the contrary such a thing as the disfigurement of a Persian noble had never been known! Arrian also foolishly criticises Alexander for assuming, in part, as sovereign of Persia, the dress and kingly attitude of a Persian monarch. He would have had him continue to humiliate and outrage the patriotism of his Persian subjects by wearing as their King, the archaic costume of a foreign country; would have had him disregard the Persian tiara for the causia, the soft felt hat of the Macedonian Kings, forgetting that if he was to rule Persia acceptably he must conform to Persian customs and dress in his intercourse with the people, as he would conform to Macedonian customs and dress among the brave people of his own country—at least until such time as the two countries found common ground on which everyone would be content to stand. That Alexander's followers should object to his adopting anything savouring of Persian customs or dress, was natural, but that he should adhere with inflexible resolve in his determination to conform in such things to the customs of Persia and the wishes of its people, evinced his fitness to rule, the wisdom of his action being in the end admitted by every one.

After the capture of Bessus, Alexander continued his march to Maracanda, the capital of Sogdiana, which he garrisoned, proceeding from thence to the Jaxartes (Syr Daria) having its outlet in

the Aral Sea. In his progress through the Scythian Mountains, the country being hostile, one of his foraging parties unfortunately lost its way and was cut to pieces by the natives lying in wait. Halting his army, he demanded redress, and on its being refused marched against the enemy which had meantime gathered in force to oppose him. For when it became apparent that the invading King intended to punish the inhabitants for cutting off his foraging party—a just reprisal on their part, the hardy natives had believed—the enraged tribes accepting Alexander's challenge flared afar in the call to arms. Forthwith the signal of war blazed from hilltop and mountain side as in every age and land among primitive people, hurrying horsemen carrying the command from tribe to tribe, while men fleet of foot sought out those not thus accessible. Arming themselves with such primitive weapons as they had at hand, the tribesmen hurried to the common rallying point where trusted chieftains had already determined the place of battle and the allotted part therein of every tribe and clan. Thus it was, and Alexander hurrying forward found confronting him in stern array thirty thousand men bravely awaiting his coming; and quickly, amid the call of trumpets and the savage cries of the tribesmen, the battle was on. For a time the hillmen held their own behind their rude stronghold, but slowly the fierce array and concerted onslaught of the

Macedonian cohorts shattered the defense and forced the disorganized mass to give way. Thus little by little, the primitive men receded but rallied again and again to the call of their leaders, until at last, divided and overwhelmed, their forces shattered, the remnant sought safety in flight, leaving twenty-two thousand of their number dead or dying on the field. Such was the pathetic battle of the tribesmen, misled as to Alexander's invasion, believing its purpose to be to deprive them of their freedom and possessions.

In the battle, Alexander, who as usual fought in the forefront, was desperately wounded, but wrought up over the opposition he was encountering on every hand and the slow progress he was making, he refused to delay the march of the army, but caused himself to be carried forward on a litter which his soldiers took turns in guarding, everyone emulous of the great honour it conferred. On reaching the Jaxartes River (now known as the Syr Daria) the extreme northeastern limit of Persia and the boundary line between that country and Scythia, Sogdiana which he had conquered in his progress and seemingly quieted, suddenly burst into a flame of insurrection, its armed forces, rallying anew, falling on the depleted Macedonian garrisons, putting them to the sword. Previously, however, and as he approached the Jaxartes, he had been met by Scythian envoys offering the submis-

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adventure his means of crossing were primitive in the extreme, consisting only of inflated tent-skins and rude rafts, it being necessary to swim the horses under such protection as these unstable crafts afforded; and to add to his perplexities, he was still suffering from the dangerous wound received in his battle with the hill tribes! Such was the outlook preceding the battle, but with the coming of day speculation gave way to action, to an immediate order to cross the swollen river, in which accomplishment the King sought to protect his landing place on the opposite bank with artillery—the first instance of the kind known in warfare, it is said. In the manner described six thousand men were finally crossed. Massing this force he advanced and after some minor engagements at last compelled the Scythians to meet him face to face. With the order of battle fixed he charged at the head of three squadrons of the Companions, and followed and supported by the concerted efforts of the remainder of his troops, the Tartars were finally dispersed, leaving their slain on the field. The defeat was followed by a formal acknowledgment of supremacy by the Scythian King, which Alexander graciously accepted, thus freeing the frontier from further threatenings by the Tartars of the eastern desert.

Meanwhile, the Massagetæ, a nomadic race of Tartars to the northwest, undeterred by the fate of

their Scythian brethren beyond the Jaxartes, had allied themselves with the Sogdianians unfriendly to Alexander's cause. To meet and overcome this new enemy, Alexander hastily despatched an army for the purpose, but in the encounter that followed, owing to lack of co-operative action and the cunning and bravery of the nomads, the Macedonians were overwhelmingly defeated and in the disastrous rout that followed, exterminated almost to a man. Much dejected over the unfortunate mishap Alexander presently set out in person at the head of a considerable force and coming up with the Massagetæ—who were no wise loath to meet him in battle—a sanguinary engagement followed in which the enemy was completely defeated and driven back, tamed and disheartened into their native wilds. To protect his exposed provinces against the nomadic tribes of the desert Alexander re-established and strengthened the old Persian fortifications along the border of the kingdom, creating such new ones as were necessary. In this way, after many vicissitudes, sometimes resulting favourably to him, but often the reverse, he finally perfected an adequate system of defense.

The province of Sogdiana that these isolated fortresses were designed to protect, possessed many thriving villages and cities, the land contiguous thereto being exceedingly productive as it is today. The inhabitants were at once courageous and

resourceful and greatly superior in intelligence to the people of the hills, being such indeed as to form a staunch borderland against the savage Tartar tribes occupying the deserts to the north and east. Because of this Alexander was anxious to establish a form of government every way agreeable to them and with this intent called upon the people to meet at Maracanda, the capital, and agree among themselves upon a form that would be acceptable to them. But it being maliciously reported by the disaffected that the only purpose of the meeting was to enable Alexander to entrap the nobles and put them to death, the whole country again revolted. Furious with rage and despairing of all gentle measures, the King marched into the rebellious country, and traversing its broad extent swept it from end to end with fire and sword, not one being spared who in any way opposed his will. Thus amid flaming cities and sanguinary battles this remote province was at last quieted. But not effectively, for shortly after a new and formidable uprising occurred, whereupon the rebellious country was scourged anew until at last, its fields and towns devastated and its population destroyed or in hiding, permanent peace was attained. Thus the last of the brave barons of the far east, lords of Persia, lay dead on the field of battle, or hastening to the King knelt before him craving peace and protection. After two hundred years of domination wherein

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CHAPTER XXIV

SURRENDER OF ARIMAZES. MARRIAGE OF ALEXANDER

328-327 B. C.

HAVING quieted Bactria and Sogdiana, Alexander did all in his power to rehabilitate the devastated country by repeopling its waste places and encouraging those who survived the horrors of the war to renewed acts of industry and thrift. This attained, there followed the introduction of enlightened methods of government in which the western world hitherto excluded, was free to enjoy, coming and going as pleasure or interest dictated. And Greece being the most forward and intelligent, was the first and greatest beneficiary of this new field of enterprise; for under Alexander's guidance many Greek cities sprang up in the devastated district, their growth being fostered by the enlightened forms of government he instituted. In these and kindred measures—as in his readjustment of the affairs of the Persian Empire to conform to the needs of civilized men—he has been compared in constructive statesmanship to Cæsar with his Julian Laws, to Napoleon with his Code and to William the Conqueror with his Doomsday Book.

The language of the common people of Persia, however, remained throughout unchanged, but the

Greek tongue took firm root in many of the cities, its use in all matters of government being general. In this way the western portion of the empire became in a sense Grecian and so remained, while in the barbaric east many enlightened methods were introduced and remain to this day incorporated as a part of the customs of the inhabitants.

With the attainment of peace in the western provinces, Alexander returned to Nautaca, one of the principal cities of Sogdiana, where he was joined by the various detachments of his army. Two fortresses in the mountainous regions of far western Persia, however, still held out, that of Arimazes and Chorienes, both of which were esteemed impregnable. Nothing now held Alexander back from his contemplated Indian campaign for which preparations had been going on for many months save these strongholds, and impatient of the hindrance he set out in the late winter to effect their capture. But soon, as in the crossing of the Paropamisus, fierce storms arose in the mountain-topped country, filling the valleys and passes with rushing torrents, followed by avalanches of snow and ice. In this emergency, abandoning his horses and equipages to the crippled and frostbitten soldiers, Alexander went forward on foot, encouraging his troops and forcing the advance with such as were able to withstand the terrible march. On the twentieth day of the expedition and while the

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Immediately upon this becoming known, there was great commotion throughout the army—for each prize was a fortune in itself—and ere the day closed three hundred men came forward in response to his call eager to make the effort. But for prudential reasons the attempt was postponed until night, at which time, amid a violent storm, the three hundred men being supplied with tent-pegs and ropes, set out on the dangerous mission. And being skilled in such adventure, and taking advantage of the crevices and inequalities of the surface, or where there was no such advantage driving their iron pegs deep into the frozen ground or solid ice, they at last reached the summit. But in the attempt many became confused or benumbed with cold, or meeting impassable barriers and unable to retrace their steps, lost their foothold and were precipitated to the depths below. Thus a number perished, but those who survived, reaching the summit at daylight, ranged themselves on the edge of the frowning precipice that looked down on the fortress below, and in derision, raised and lowered the sleeves of their tunics as if they were indeed winged men. No apparent advantage, however, so far as could be discerned was likely to result from the daring enterprise, now that it was so bravely achieved, but much to the surprise of every one, the garrison surrendered the same morning.

Following possession of the rock was consummated the most romantic event of Alexander's life; namely, his espousal of Roxana, the beautiful daughter of Oxyartes, governour of the fortress, whom historians tell us was, after the death of Statira, the most beautiful woman in all Persia. It was a love-marriage, pure and simple, and every way like the Great Conqueror, the only dower of the bride, being the bride herself. In his admiration and love for the beautiful woman, Alexander's ambition found a fitting culmination, for up to that time his thoughts had been wholly occupied with the acquisition of empire and the establishment of orderly governments in the provinces and cities conquered. But with the taking to himself of a Queen, the act being dictated by affection, there entered into his life another and gentler element, the love of woman, the most priceless heritage of man, be he king or peasant.

Accounts differ widely and for some political purpose seemingly, as to the particulars of the marriage and the events connected therewith, but among the primitive people where it occurred, it was looked upon as a private matter, its historical importance being lightly considered; to the people of Persia at large, however, it was a matter of vast public concern and seemed to foreshadow the goodwill and lasting friendship of the young emperor. Plutarch, who wrote several centuries after the

event but while the King's life was still a matter of current talk in Rome, says, "It was indeed a love affair, yet it seemed at the same time to be conducive to the object in hand. For it gratified the conquered people to see him choose a wife from among themselves, and it made them feel the most lively affection for him, to find that in the only passion which he, the most temperate of men, was overcome by, yet he forebore till he could obtain her in a lawful and honourable way."

The event could not be more simply portrayed. He loved Roxana—the first woman ever thus honoured by him so far as we know—and being free, married her, emphasizing in the act the kingly treatment he had accorded Queen Statira and her royal daughters. In his espousal of the obscure Bactrian maiden, Alexander's attractive personality and stainless honour stand revealed; in it we perceive his lofty idealism, his high regard for women and the little thought he gave to rank or honour in choosing a wife.

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ions. Alexander aided in removing the armour of the soldier, afterward seating the stricken man in his chair, but when the soldier revived, he was greatly frightened on discovering where he sat. Whereupon the King reassuring him, said, "Look you, comrade, among the Persians to sit in the King's seat entails death, but to you, a Macedonian, it has brought life."

The fortress of Chorienes seems to have been quite as impregnable to assault as that of Arimazes, it being located on a high mountain and separated from the surrounding heights by deep ravines, the approach to the stronghold being by a winding road two miles in length and easily defended. Little progress was made in the siege although the King set to work to bridge the ravine so that he might reach and assault the fortress with his engines. While engaged in this work by day and night, the governour invited a conference with Oxyartes who with his son, Itanes, were now honoured members of the King's household. This interview resulted finally in the delivering up of the stronghold. Following the surrender the King rested his army at Chorienes two months straightening out the affairs of the far eastern border of his kingdom and happy, we may believe, in the society of his Queen. Leaving Chorienes, he marched to Zariaspa with his army and after completing his regulations of the northeastern provinces, took his way over the Par-

opamisus Mountains to Nicea where he had wintered before taking up the pursuit of Bessus. Here he offered up sacrifices to Athena as he was in the habit of doing before commencing a new campaign. This sacred duty performed, he divided his army into two parts, the command of the lesser part being given to Hephæstion and Perdiccas, he himself keeping command of the main force. Their sphere of action was the valley of the Cophen (modern Cabul), their orders being to march down the right bank of the river to its junction with the Indus, three hundred miles distant, passing through what we know as the Khyber Pass and thence to a point near what is now the city of Peshawur. The task set them was to free the valley of the Cophen of those opposed to Alexander's cause and establish such fortresses on the way as were needed to keep open the communication with the northeastern provinces. This they experienced little difficulty in doing, but whether it was due to the mildness of the people or the representations made to them by the Indian King, Taxiles, we do not know. This monarch who reigned over a considerable kingdom south of the Indus had gone north to meet Alexander and tender submission, but having accomplished his mission was now returning to his own country acting meanwhile as a guide and friend to Hephæstion and Perdiccas.

Alexander with the main army marched south on the left bank of the Cophen the purpose he had in view, however, taking him farther and farther to the east as he progressed. His object was to overcome the hostile people that occupied the valleys and mountain passes of the Choaspes, Euaspla and Guræus and lesser streams adjacent thereto. This he found more difficult than he had expected and in consequence reached the Indus much later than he had counted upon. His army consisted of about one hundred thousand men, but Ptolemy, to whom we are indebted for much of our knowledge of what occurred, gives few particulars concerning the manipulation of this great body of troops, devoting much of what he has to say to unimportant details. Indeed it is as if he were describing the movements of a battalion or brigade and because of his omissions, historians have little to relate, though the campaign appears to have been one of the severest that Alexander ever undertook, the bravery of the people and the obstacles he encountered necessitating his fighting for every inch he gained. The inhabitants indeed appear to have met him face to face, courageous to the point of obstinacy, making no voluntary relinquishments of territory and rallying anew wherever a possibility of opposing the King's progress presented itself. This is explained by the fact that the country was inhabited largely by offshoots of the Aryan race, the valley of the

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Homeric nature of much of the fighting that occurred in connection with every battle or the pursuit that followed. Later on, Ptolemy relates, that at the siege of Massaga (a mountain fortress where the most stubborn opposition experienced throughout the campaign was encountered, and the result for days uncertain of issue) Alexander being near the wall was wounded in the leg, but drawing the arrow forth with his own hand, called for a horse and continued on as before. But at last being compelled to stop from loss of blood, he cried out with a laugh as they staunched the wound, "They may call me the son of Jupiter, but I suffer none the less like a mortal, for this is blood, not ichor."*

In his efforts to force a passage through the mountainous region east of the Cophen, Alexander's progress was retarded by the necessity of securing permanent possession of the passes and establishing such fortresses as were required to hold the country and preserve his communications with Bactria and Sogdiana. In this way many encounters took place and many fortresses were besieged and stormed that would otherwise have been unnecessary. The march lay through the mountainous regions of the Aspasians, Curæans, and Assacen-

*While Alexander would do nothing to dispel the illusions of the eastern barbarians regarding his divine origin, because of the benefit the Macedonian cause derived therefrom, he himself made it a subject of common jest with his followers as illustrated by this incident.

ians, who overcome in the field, fled to their fortified retreats, where they continued the struggle with courageous though unavailing persistence. Throughout, the campaign was one of continual battles, attended or followed by desperate sieges ending with toppling walls and devastated strongholds. Because of these hindrances the campaign was greatly prolonged, but in the end success attended the King's efforts, one and all yielded to the superior discipline and warlike accoutrements of the Macedonians guided by the genius and courage of their leader.

As the army approached the Indus, its progress was barred by the famed Rock of Aornus—a lofty fortress which it seems Hercules had found it impossible to overcome and to which the inhabitants of the surrounding country had now fled for refuge. This historic mountain, the location of which it is now impossible to determine, was twenty-three miles in circumference and lifted its height five thousand feet above the plain, the Greeks naming it Aornus—"a spot higher than the flight of birds." The path by which the stronghold at the summit of the rock was reached was one and one-fourth miles in length. The fortress itself occupied a plateau or plain of arable land, abundantly supplied with water and sufficient to occupy the labour of a thousand men in its tillage. It, therefore, contained within itself all that was required to support its garrison,

irrespective of the supplies collected in its storehouses. On the borders of the upper plateau arose the towering walls of the fortress, looking down on dizzy precipices, impassable ravines, and a labyrinth of smaller mountains and precipitous depths. In his dilemma as to the best method of attack, Alexander whose reputation for princely generosity in the case of those who in any way furthered his cause, had preceded him, was visited by many familiar with the height, proffering advice and guidance. Selecting from these an old shepherd and his two sons for guides, he studied the ascent of the mountain, his studies being followed by immediate action. His progress was met, however, at every step with delays and costly repulses. Undiscouraged he pushed forward, filling the ravines that could not otherwise be traversed and storming the lesser heights from which the enemy sought with insistent courage to stay his progress. In these undertakings, the King, it is recounted, was everywhere present, encouraging and directing his followers and actively assisting them in person in the hard work that the great investment involved. After days and weeks of labour and active warfare between the contending forces, the Macedonian army finally forced its way to a height from which its engines—largely built on the spot—could be made effective. In this situation the garrison, amazed and disheartened by the courage and resourceful-

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—now seemingly confirmed—that he was of superhuman birth and, therefore, invulnerable. Every obstacle being at last surmounted, the King resumed his march to the Indus, guided through the rugged and heavily wooded country by Taxiles who had meanwhile joined him with a contingent of Indian troops.

CHAPTER XXVI

BATTLE WITH PORUS, THE INDIAN MONARCH

327-326 B. C.

WHEN Taxiles joined Alexander at the siege of Aornus, he formally renewed his tender of submission embracing therein the surrender of his capital which latter the Macedonians temporarily occupied. Up to this time Alexander in his conquest had contemplated the Indus, the southern boundary of Persia, as the limit of his invasion. But allured by the submission of Taxiles, accompanied as it was by a contingent of troops and needed supplies, the conquest of India it is probable first suggested itself to his mind. And as if to further this, Taxiles in his voluntary submission had besought Alexander to assist him in a conflict of interests he was waging with Porus, a powerful monarch who dominated the country beyond the Hydaspes, a great river on the borders of Taxiles' country. Listening to his request, Alexander, however, would promise nothing until the temper of Porus could be ascertained, but when that haughty King on being approached, curtly refused submission and defiantly marshalled his army, Alexander, acquiescing in Taxiles' request for assistance, continued his march to the Hydaspes behind which Porus' troops were concentrated in

anticipation of his coming. On his march Alexander encountered a considerable army led by Spitakes, a relative and ally of Porus, which lay entrenched in a narrow defile through which the Macedonians must pass. Skilfully manœuvering his forces, Alexander finally lured his enemy into a position more favourable for attack after which a severe encounter ensued in which the Macedonians were completely successful, Spitakes and the remnant of his force seeking safety with the army of Porus.

Reaching the Hydaspes (now the Jhelam) Alexander deemed it unwise to attempt to cross in the face of Porus' army, marshalled on an extended plain beyond, as the river—half a mile in width—was greatly swollen by recent rains. He, however, made pretence of doing so, clamourously marching his army back and forth day after day as if determined not to be thwarted in his purpose. And when he seemingly found a favourable spot, he would hurriedly marshal what appeared to be his whole force on the bank, as if meditating immediate action. Seeing this, Porus, who watched the river far and near, rushed his forces to the spot threatened, whereupon Alexander apparently foiled by the activity of the Indian King, would abandon the undertaking. These deceptions of the Macedonians long continued were rendered possible by the fact that the northern shore on which their forces lay

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and amid a storm of wind and rain, bridges of boats and rafts of inflated tent skins prepared in advance were hurried to the river bank from behind the screen of woods. On these in the early morning Alexander crossed with fourteen thousand men, his movements further hidden by a wooded island near the opposite shore.*

Apprised of the movement too late, Porus when finally assured that the attack was real, drew up his army, facing his enemy and having a front of four miles. In the foreground he placed two hundred elephants, designed to crush the Macedonian infantry and stampede its cavalry. The huge beasts were placed one hundred feet apart, and each bore a complement of men armed with bows and javelins. In addition to this terrifying array, he had three hundred four-horse chariots, each carrying two mailed drivers and four heavily armed men. Behind these came his infantry, thirty thousand strong, armed with spears and javelins and bearing long bows carrying arrows three feet in length. Having thus arranged his forces, he waited, acting on the defensive; and this, it is believed by military critics, greatly hindered the effectiveness of his army, as it left Alexander with his smaller force free to choose the manner of attack, an advantage,

*In these preparatory manœuvers and the success that followed them, Alexander is said to have supplied the military world with everything of greatest value known today in the crossing of a stream in the face of an alert enemy.

which he availed himself of with his unparalleled genius for offensive movements.

Leaving minute directions for the remainder of his force as to the time, place and manner of crossing the river, Alexander hurried forward with the Companions, directing the Phalangites and shield-bearing guards and light infantry to follow with all speed. Meanwhile the often deceived Indian King, believing the movement to be only a cavalry raid, had sent forward, in advance of forming his main army, a troop of two thousand horse and one hundred and twenty chariots, under the command of his son, to ascertain the purpose of the movement. These coming up with Alexander and he discovering the body to be unsupported, charged the force with his cavalry, putting it to disastrous rout, the King's son and four hundred of his followers falling in the encounter. Discovering his mistake, Porus hastily formed his army in battle array intent upon assuming a defensive attitude. As Alexander advanced the latter detached a strong body of Companions under the command of Cœnus, with orders to make a wide detour and attack the enemy's right wing. This Cœnus successfully accomplished, taking it by surprise and throwing it into such confusion and alarm that it proved to be ineffective throughout the battle that followed. This brave exploit effected, Cœnus with the daring instinct of a born cavalry leader, circled the enemy's rear, cre-

ating consternation and confusion in his progress, after which courageous act he joined his king on the extreme left of the enemy's forces. Alexander meanwhile with the bulk of the cavalry had attacked Porus on his left flank, leaving the Phalanx and other troops to attack in front where the elephants were stationed and which the Macedonian horses could by no means be induced to approach. Thus the contest opened and continued for eight hours with varying success finally culminating in the utter defeat of the Indian forces. Meanwhile, the reserves Alexander had left on the opposite side of the river with orders to follow, were unable to reach the field except in part, until the victory was assured, thus greatly diminishing the force he had counted upon. Of the Macedonians engaged, six and one half per cent were killed—said to have been the greatest loss ever suffered by an army of similar size, the killed and wounded together equaling seventy-three per cent of the total number engaged. This surprising loss bore testimony to the stubborn bravery of the Indian troops, and more clearly indicated Alexander's disposition in battle than any contest in which he had hitherto been engaged, namely: his determination to continue fighting until he overcame his enemy or was himself destroyed. Porus' army being the equal in courage and greatly outnumbering the Macedonians, the only advantage the latter possessed was the incomparable tactics and aggressive

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ately taken up, Alexander would not suffer the flying monarch to be slain, but sent first one messenger and then another to the heroic King, bidding him yield, promising that no harm or indignity should be offered him. His action in this respect and the behaviour of Porus throughout the battle, however, cannot be better described than by quoting what the historian Arrian says. "When Porus, who exhibited great talent in the battle, performing the deeds not only of a general, but also of a valiant soldier, observed the slaughter of his cavalry, and some of his elephants lying dead, others destitute of keepers, straying about in a forlorn condition, while most of his infantry had perished, he did not depart as Darius the Great King did, setting an example of flight to his men; but as long as any body of Indians remained compact in the battle, he kept up the struggle. But at last, having received a wound on the right shoulder, which part of his body alone was unprotected during the battle, he wheeled round. (His coat of mail warded off the missiles from the rest of his body, being extraordinary both for its strength and the close fitting of its joints, as it was afterwards possible for those who saw him to observe.) Then, indeed, he turned his elephant and began to retire. Alexander, having seen that he was a great man and valiant in battle, was very desirous of saving his life. He accordingly sent first to him Taxiles,

MEETING OF PORUS AND TAXILES

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speak, bidding him say what treatment he would like to receive. The report goes that Porus replied: 'Treat me, O Alexander, in a kingly way.' Alexander, being pleased at the expression said, 'For my own sake, O Porus, thou shalt be thus treated, but for thy own sake do thou demand what is pleasing to thee.' But Porus said that everything was included in that. Alexander, being still more pleased at this remark, not only granted him the rule over his own Indians, but also added another country to that which he had before, of larger extent than the former. Thus he treated the brave man in a kingly way, and from that time found him faithful in all things." Such is Arrian's account of Porus in the great battle and the pursuit and surrender of the brave Indian King.

CHAPTER XXVII

RETURN OF THE ARMY TO PERSEPOLIS

327-326 B. C.

A NOTABLE incident in connection with the pursuit of Porus, the Indian King, was the death of Bucephalus, Alexander's war horse. History has much to relate concerning this noble animal and it is said that he always knelt for Alexander to mount or dismount.* At the last when death approached, the noble beast, exhausted and drooping, and as if conscious that he was about to die, knelt for his master to leave his back. In his grief over the loss of the incomparable animal, then thirty years of age and the companion of his life, Alexander caused an Indian city to be built and populated and named Bucephalus in honour of the steed that had served him so long and faithfully. It was said of Bucephalus that when not fitted with his harness, he would permit his groom to ride him, but when thus accoutred, would allow no one but Alexander to mount him. "Bucephalus," says Arrian, "had shared many hardships and incurred many dangers with Alexander during many years, being ridden by none but

*This habit of Bucephalus, taught him by his master, seems like a superrefinement on Alexander's part; but the heavy armour he wore and that rendered it extremely difficult to mount and dismount, excused the practice.

the King, because he rejected all other riders. He was both of unusual size and generous in mettle. The head of an ox had been engraved or branded upon him as a distinguishing mark, and according to some this was the reason that he bore the name of Bucephalus; but others say that though he was black he had a white mark upon his head which bore a great resemblance to the head of an ox."*

326-325 B. C.

In his conquest beyond the Indus Alexander did not attempt to incorporate India as a part of the Persian Empire, but sought to make allies of its rulers, adjusting the power they respectively exercised so that one would counterbalance the other. In pursuance of this he accorded Taxiles and Porus equal authority over the territory they respectively governed, having first brought about a reconciliation between them. When, however, he found it impossible to make an ally of a petty Indian king or ruler, he put one that was friendly in his place, or added his territory to that of one he could trust. In this way conformably to the interests of the Empire, he settled the affairs of the vast territory bordering on the Indus and its tributary streams.

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*The attachment of Bucephalus for his master has always elicited the interest of men, because of the light it throws on the personality of Alexander. For the love of a high-spirited horse for his master presupposes in the latter the amiable qualities that win and hold the regard of men.

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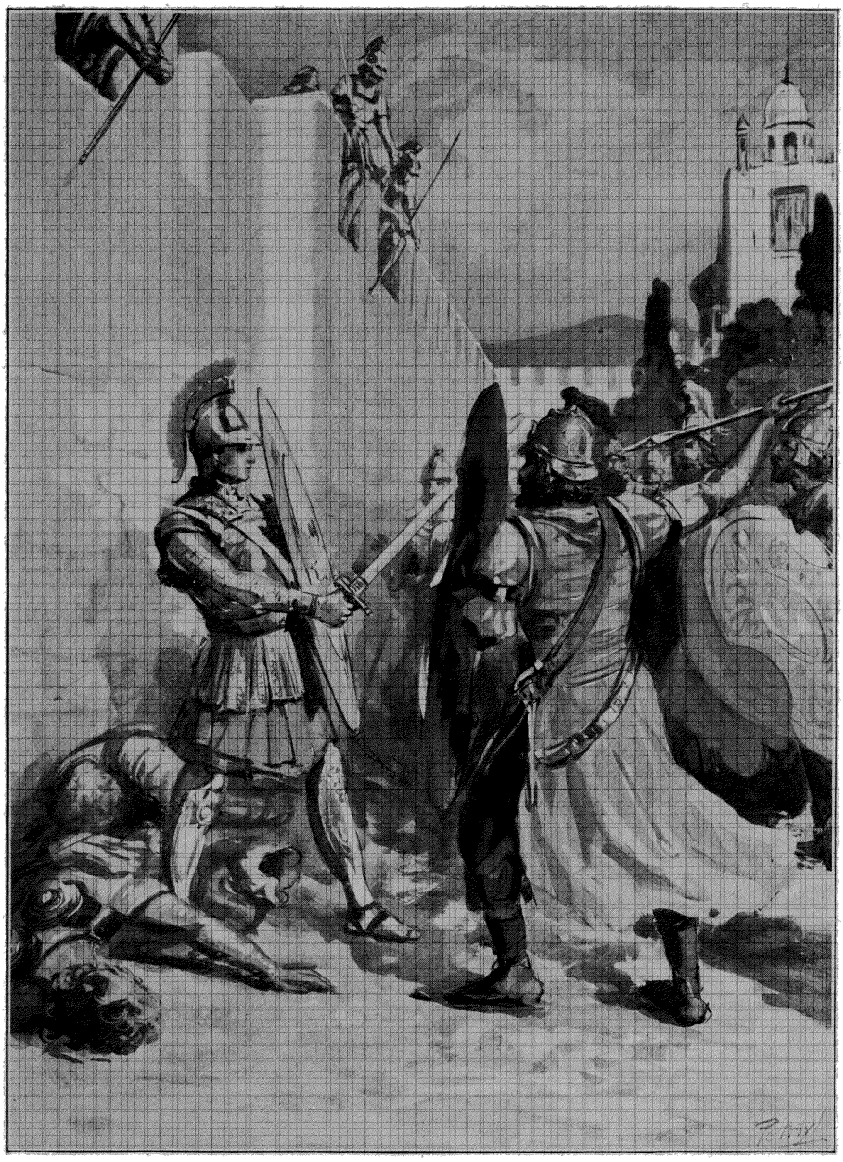
enraged enemy. In the struggle that followed two of Alexander's companions were slain, he himself being prostrated by an arrow which penetrated his lungs. The remaining soldier, Peucestas, a shield-bearing guard, not in the least intimidated by what had occurred, fought on with courageous heart, protecting the body of the fallen King until he was rescued by the Macedonians who hurried to his assistance. In recognition of his fidelity and courage, Alexander afterward conferred many honours upon Peucestas and otherwise treated him with great tenderness and regard. Frantic with rage because of the mishap to their King—his wound being thought fatal—the Macedonian army stormed the Mallian capital, sparing no one in the savage contest that ensued within the walls.

The King's wound proved to be serious and exceedingly painful, but in extracting the arrow, the chroniclers relate, he made no outcry, nor, indeed, changed countenance. However, this is said to have been his attitude in connection with the many wounds he received during the conquest, accepting them with equanimity as a part of the fortunes of war. But his soldiers ever viewed the dangers the King incurred, with disturbed countenances, and in the midst of battle where he fought always in front, were wont to turn to him with anxious faces, lest death should overtake him, believing as they did that his life alone stood between them



BENEATH THE MALLIAN WALLS

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sought to clothe the adventure with a dignity commemorative of the progress of the conquering army and the splendour and power of its King.

While the invading army appears to have been engaged throughout the campaign in continual conflicts there were none—save in the case of the cities mentioned—that approached in severity those it had previously undergone. Finally when the dense population that crowded the valley of the Indus was in some measure quieted and their rulers won over by conciliatory and politic measures, Alexander made known, to the surprise and sorrow of his followers, his intention to continue the march to the Ganges. But this the Macedonians weary and heavy of heart—having now been seven years from their homes—refused to acquiesce in, and vain were his urgent pleadings, their refusal to follow him proving absolute and final. Threats proved equally ineffective and after having secluded himself for three days, in the hope of finally overcoming their determination, he reluctantly gave way. It was, however, the bitterest disappointment of his life, but accepting the inevitable, it fell out in August 326 B. C., that the battered and scar worn army numbering one hundred and twenty thousand men at last set its face in the direction of home.

Many small and isolated districts, however, still remained to be overcome, but these petty—though

oftentimes hazardous expeditions—mean nothing in the recounting, their purpose being to quiet the disturbed localities or bring under subjection ambitious rulers seeking to take advantage of the situation for their own aggrandizement. When in this way every measure necessary to the security and quiet of the country had been taken Alexander marched to Patala near the coast, where he divided his army preparatory to its return home. To Craterus, one of the most capable of his officers, he gave a part which he ordered to ascend the Indus and at a point designated, diverge to the north, crossing Drangiana to Pasargadæ, which place was reached without mishap, the invalided Macedonians and other soldiers to be returned to Macedonia, accompanying Craterus in his long march. Alexander himself with a part of the force marched straight for Persepolis in the northwest, and having in his way to traverse the Gedrosia Desert, eight hundred and fifty miles in width. He chose this hazardous course it is thought because of the great need there was for his quick return to the Persian capital, many and grave disorders having arisen in the conduct of the government of the empire because of his long absence and inability to give matters his personal attention. A fragment of the army was sent under Nearchus by water through the Persian Gulf on vessels constructed for the purpose near the mouth of the Indus—an ex-

pedition that was thought to be fraught with especial perils, but, happily, found to be directly the reverse.

Historians have sought in vain to find words to describe the horrors of Alexander's march across the Gedrosia Desert to Paura, and thence, with some mitigation of the suffering, to Persis. Three quarters of the army are believed to have succumbed to the hardships of the long march, those who survived reaching their destination in tatters and rags. Progress was slow, ten or twelve miles a day being the average march. The distance between water holes was sometimes seventy miles and when reached the danger was multiplied, many soldiers dying a pitiful death from over indulgence. The vast desert was as the waves of the sea, sandy and barren without beaten roads, often without paths, all vegetable life quickly disappearing as the army advanced. Brooks were dried up, and blistered and burned by the torrid heat, the soldiers struggled forward, the feeble and indisposed oftentimes of necessity abandoned to their fate. Many fell by the way and were buried in the shifting sands, while those who wandered from the column or lagged behind were left to die. When the army could reach water by a night march the suffering was lessened but when this was impossible, the hardships were indescribable. Discipline was finally forgotten in the struggle for life and

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325-324 B. C.

Overcoming the horrors of the desert, Alexander finally reached Persis where he passed the winter resting and reorganizing his army and occupied himself in correcting the abuses that had crept into the government service during his long absence. And in this, it was remarked, that he punished all who were unfaithful without reference to their nationality or the degree of friendship with which he had formerly regarded them. Thus through the exercise of even handed justice he won the confidence and love of the people who saw that he was quite as determined to govern as he was to reign. Afterward he continued his march to the north, where thirty thousand young and vigorous native Persian troops joined him, organized and armed after the Macedonian fashion. These, under his direction, had been collected and drilled with the view of making every portion of the Empire bear its just part of the burden of the army. Another purpose he is said to have had in view was to relieve himself as Emperor of Persia, of subserviency to the Macedonian contingent which had no sympathy in many important things with the native population over which he was now called upon to rule. The commingling of the two nations, however, was a part of his far-seeing determination to amalgamate the kingdoms under his rule. And it was in furtherance of this and to secure the con-

fidence and loyalty of the Persian people, that he now formally recognized for the first time the customs of the Orient in respect to marriage and its attendant plurality of wives. Without impairing Roxana's supreme and honoured position as queen, he took to wife Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius; thus cementing in his own person and his descendants by the political act, the royal house of Persia. Eighty of his officers also took to wife the most prominent noblewomen of the empire, ten thousand of the common soldiers following their example in the lower walks of life.

Of these marriages, an ancient writer says, "As in a cup of love were mingled the life and manners of the different races and the populations, drinking therefrom, forgot their ancient hostility." No one questioned the King's wisdom in forestalling future political intrigues by taking Statira to wife, but when the army beheld the thirty thousand Persian levy, the Macedonian officers and soldiers (ever jealous and exacting) cried out that his purpose in thus recognizing the native population was to rid himself of his old and tried followers. And when he declared that it was his purpose to send home the infirm and aged veterans, and there make provision for their comfort, the troops mutinied, demanding that he send them all home, bidding him with bitter scorn to call upon Jupiter-Ammon for aid in his future conquests. Incensed beyond meas-

ure, Alexander took them at their word, and after having punished those who had incited the revolt, retired to his palace, where he refused the malcontents further recognition or direction. After this had continued for some time, during which period he communicated only with his Persian subjects, the Macedonians, heartbroken and repentant, came to the palace gate, and prostrating themselves begged for pardon. For two days and nights he refused to receive them, believing that the good of his people and the perpetuity of his measures depended upon their full and equal acceptance by every subject. And in this connection it should be remembered in excuse of the Macedonians, that they looked upon Alexander as wholly theirs; as a mighty chieftain king, with whom they had lived in intimacy on the march and about the camp fire ever since he mounted the throne. To the Persians, on the contrary, he was an awesome, unapproachable, sacred being, the King of Kings, with whom the noblest prince could claim no greater degree of equality than the meanest peasant. There can be no doubt, however, that Alexander loved his own countrymen above all others and at a great banquet which he gave the army about this time, sat them above his Persian subjects. But as the King of Kings, the sublime and undisputed Emperor of the Orient, he would allow no particle of the honour and glory attached to the kingly office

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cient to enrich all who had fought under his standard. In further provision he generously continued the pay of those who had met death in his service, to their wives and children in Macedonia.

CHAPTER XXVIII

DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. HIS PERSONALITY AND DEEDS

323 B. C.

FROM Susa Alexander continued his progress to Ecbatana, the summer capital of Persia and the treasure house of the empire. Here Hephæstion the life long friend of Alexander sickened and died. This event, at once sudden and unexpected, overwhelmed the King, the love between the two men having continued uninterrupted from boyhood. In command of the Companions—the most exalted office in the army—Hephæstion was at once a trusted member of Alexander's cabinet and his friend and confidant. To him the King confided secrets that he could divulge to no one else and in this manner lightened somewhat the insuperable burdens of a life of exalted power, from which there was no escape. His love Hephæstion returned and proved throughout a loyal and discreet subject and a sincere and sympathizing friend. His death was to Alexander an irreparable loss and his grief over the event for the moment unbalanced his reason. In honour of the dead he caused the most sumptuous funeral ceremonies that love could

devise or wealth provide, to be celebrated both at Ecbatana and Babylon.*

When at last Alexander's grief over the death of Hephæstion was somewhat stilled, he set out for Babylon, stopping by the way to make a winter campaign against the Cossæi, a tribe of barbarians and murderers who had their habitation in the mountains and who for centuries had harassed and defied the Persian Kings, preying upon the inhabitants of the plain as need or humour dictated. Successful in his undertaking, he continued his course to Babylon, his march attended throughout by the visits of envoys and rulers, who sought his presence from every quarter of the known world. With his arrival at Babylon ended the last campaign of the Great Conqueror, his marches of which we have historical knowledge from the time of his ascending the Macedonian throne, 336 B. C., to his death, 323 B. C., amounted in the aggregate to 21,950 miles, without taking account of the diversions, chance encounters, forays, sieges and battles incident thereto—an herculean labour that can scarcely

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*Alexander, because of his great affection for Hephæstion, treated him in all their personal relations as an equal; and in this connection it is related that following the battle of Issus, when Alexander went with Hephæstion to pay a visit of ceremony to the family of Darius, Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, prostrated herself before Hephæstion, thinking he was the King. Upon being informed of her mistake, she was very much confused and alarmed, whereupon Alexander reassuring her, exclaimed, "You are not wrong, he too is Alexander."

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ous wounds and filled to the full with hardships and anxieties, followed by the horrors of the Gedrosian Desert and the death of Hephæstion, had so weakened his body, that he was unable to withstand the strain of the severe sickness; and so he died, leaving the work of consolidating his Empire unfinished. Thus the world lost the first of the three exalted men known to history who possessed in a superhuman degree the fruitful genius of successful war and consummate statesmanship.

Historians generally concur in the particulars of Alexander's sickness and death, which last occurred at Babylon in his thirty-second year, after a reign of twelve years and eight months. When we remember his youth and exalted deeds and the promises of the future, the historical narrative of his sickness and death is pathetic in its simplicity. For in its inception it is related, the fever seemed to one of his supposed bodily strength of no importance whatever and he gave it no heed. On the second day of its continuance, however, he was unable to leave the house of Medius where he had supped the night before. Nevertheless, he summoned his officers and prescribed the details of the impending expedition (the conquest of Arabia), ordering that the land force begin its march on the fourth day following, while the fleet, with himself in command, should sail on the fifth day. In the evening he was carried on a couch across the

Euphrates into a sheltered garden, where he bathed and rested for the night. In the morning, the fever continuing, he bathed and was carried out to perform the sacrifices, after which he remained on his couch throughout the day. In the evening he bathed and again sacrificed, but endured a bad night with heightened fever. The next two days passed in the same manner, the fever increasing. Nevertheless, he summoned Nearchus (his admiral) to his bedside, and discussed many points regarding his maritime projects, ordering that the fleet should be ready by the third day. On the ensuing morning the fever being violent, he reposed all day in the garden, calling the generals to discuss the filling of vacancies among the officers, and directing that the armament should be in readiness to move when required. The next day his malady was still more violent. On the succeeding day he could with difficulty support himself, being lifted out of bed to perform the sacrifice. He, however, continued to give orders in regard to the expedition. The day following, though alarmingly ill, he made an effort to perform the sacrifice, being carried from the garden-house to the palace. In this weakened state he ordered that the officers should remain in permanent attendance in and about the hall. Thus he remained for two nights and a day, without amendment or repose, incapable of utterance. News of his malady reaching the army, it

filled the soldiers with inexpressible grief and alarm. Many of them, eager to see him, forced their way into the palace, and were admitted, passing beside his bed and expressing their great affection and sympathy. The King recognized them, and in return made demonstrations of love, but was unable to speak. He succumbed to his sickness on the afternoon of the same day.

Thus died untimely one whose achievements have never been surpassed. Only Napoleon and Cæsar, as has already been pointed out, are comparable with him. Napoleon died broken-hearted and in exile, bereft of all his possessions. Cæsar was assassinated at the acme of his power. Alexander died a natural death, surrounded by his friends and in peaceful possession of his own kingdom and the vast Empire he had acquired.

Reflecting on the personality and deeds of Alexander there is no ruler of whom we have knowledge whose life was more picturesque or fruitful of great achievements. At twenty ascending the throne of a kingdom shaken by the throes of a murderous conspiracy and threatened on every side by alert and warlike enemies — at thirty-two master of the world; an herculean labour, in which the mind and body of the labourer had no rest. The soul of

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youth and the delusion of health, the duty of providing for the succession, was neglected. And during his sickness—as if to further the fatal omission—his recovery seemed but a question of hours, as his daily intercourse with his officers clearly indicates. Unhappily, he took no account of the thirteen years of marches and battles and attendant hardships and grievous wounds, nor dreamed that they had fatally undermined his constitution and sapped his strength. And so ere he thought himself threatened, he lay supine upon his couch unable to act and compelled of necessity to leave the succession to established usages and the wisdom and patriotism of his officers. Nor could he have thought in that great extremity of fortune that the empire so hardly won, was to be fought for and torn to shreds after his death by his over ambitious generals. For no one can believe the incredible story that he gave utterance when at the point of death or at any other period of his life, to the expectation or desire that his kingdom should fall "to the strongest." Such belief is too absurd to think of in the successor of a long line of kings who for four hundred years had striven to perpetuate and aggrandize their dynasty. The expression, it is more probable, was given currency by his generals in excuse for what followed his death; for Alexander, it is apparent, had no thought that the succession would be different in his case from that of

his predecessors. Yet so it was, for those he left behind would yield to no arm less strong than his. And thus chaos reigned, in which ambitious military chiefs struggled with each other, each for himself, the turmoil ending as we know in the dismemberment of the Empire, the scattered fragments falling to the more fortunate. Yet notwithstanding this unhappy ending, the conquests of Alexander had served to open the east to the enlightened customs of the west, a divine favour never to be recalled or wholly disregarded, whatever mishap of savagery or usurpation of power in the future might overwhelm the unhappy country.

The ambition of Alexander's generals after his death, however unfortunate, is not to be too severely criticised. They had served their master with lion-like courage and loyalty, and when he died they could not forego their individual interests to further the Dorian Monarchy, or the scheme of the Greco-Persian Empire Alexander contemplated. Not all of those entrusted with power, however, proved unfaithful—notably Eumenes—but it is clear in the light of subsequent events that the individual interests of all those to whom provinces were assigned in the interests of the kingly house, with the exception of Ptolemy, would have been better served had they remained loyal to their trust. There was indeed a pretense of doing this, and accordingly Aridæus, Philip's half-witted son, was made

King under Perdiccas' tutelage; and afterward, when Roxana gave birth to a posthumous child, he was made joint king with Aridæus. But it was only a pretense, and intended merely to give those to whom the guardianship of the different provinces of the vast Empire was allotted, time in which to so shape their affairs as to make the domination permanent. But fearful that their tenure would prove only temporary or inconsequential if any Dorian heir survived, the extermination of the kingly line followed, the ambitious chiefs, who owed their fortunes to the generous Conqueror, forgetful of his favour, pursuing with deadly fear every one who had in their veins a trace of Dorian blood. And in this great stress of fortune, and the submerging of the kingly house, the hapless Roxana and her young son Alexander, most pitifully, and Olympias, the queen mother, most justly, perished with others of lesser consequence.

Alexander possessed many of the common frailties of mankind, some of them inherited, others the outgrowth of his youth and the environment of a Monarch of transcendent aims and ambitions. His temper, always high, was in later life imperious, but the devotion and affection of his followers up to the very end, evinced his lovable qualities and

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his wakefulness by habit. Of transcendent intellect, his mind was animated and strengthened by lofty purposes. Ambitious in an extreme degree, it was coupled with the most exalted motives. He loved the strife of battle, and its turmoil raised his intellect to the highest pitch of activity. His instincts were keen, his perception remarkable, his judgment all but infallible. As an organizer of armies he was without a rival; as a leader, unapproachable in exciting the ambition and courage of his followers, stilling their apprehensions by his own fearlessness. Extolling his achievements, Polybius declares his soul to have been of superhuman pattern!

Such was Alexander, reviving in his acts the heroic age of Greece; supreme among men, he was in conception and deeds like unto the mighty deities of Hellenic mythology. Dying, his great work was done and well done. From the jungles of the Indus to the desert wastes of Egypt, the subtle cruelties and midnight darkness of oriental methods, born of seclusion and savage conceptions, had given place under his domination to the dawn of a gentler Greek civilization; the rapacity of Persia's half-savage satraps and the despotic methods of her barbaric court, nurtured in greed and the cruel practices of the far East, he replaced by Hellenic conceptions and enlightened methods of civil government. Such was his gift to mankind, the fruits of which the world will share for all time.

CHAPTER XXIX

SYNOPSIS OF EVENTS FOLLOWING ALEXANDER'S DEATH, THE DIADOCHI

THE death of Alexander caused unspeakable grief and consternation throughout the army. On the night succeeding that on which he died, the soldiers remained under arms as if menaced by an enemy. The inhabitants of Babylon who had looked to the young King to recreate the great city and reinstate it in all the splendour and power of ancient days, were filled with fear and bewilderment. Seeking their homes and closing the doors, they waited throughout the night, without lights, silent and apprehensive, harkening in terror to every noise, fearful that the army no longer controlled by its master should storm and pillage the defenseless city. The fleet of armed ships that filled the great river, waiting the King's word to sail, swung silent at their anchors, the hitherto expectant crews, benumbed and saddened, conscious that the long anticipated expedition was no longer a thing possible of fulfillment. Throughout the known world the news of the death of the conquering King filled the minds of men with awe. It was as if a great void filled the earth, the conquest of the world his life had certainly foreshadowed

being now a thing no longer to be anticipated by its friends or feared by its enemies.

For four days Alexander's body is said to have lain undisturbed amidst the lamentations of his followers. When a council was convened, the soldiers who crowded forward on beholding the vacant throne on which lay the King's diadem and mantle, filled the air with their sorrowing outcries. This outburst of despair and grief broke forth afresh on the entrance of Perdiccas who laid on the vacant throne the signet ring which Alexander had given to him on his deathbed. This conference surcharged with sorrowful memories was followed by others fruitless of result. Finally Alexandria, the city founded by the great King in Egypt, was fixed upon as the place of burial, the obsequies attending the removal of the body and the interment being characterized by indescribable splendour.

The effect of the death of Alexander was to throw the government into unutterable confusion, there being no one recognized as chief or strong enough to assume command as a matter of right. Disputes consequently arose, followed by sharp conflicts between the soldiers and rival leaders and more especially between the cavalry and infantry. At length a compromise was arranged by which Philip's half-witted son, Aridæus, was proclaimed king, in name, with Perdiccas, in command of the cavalry, as regent, assisted by Eumenes. Upon the

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after the assassination of Perdiccas) ruler of the East. Meanwhile Olympias, emerging from her retirement in Epirus, gained favour in Macedonia through the peoples' loving remembrance of her son, Alexander; but lacking wisdom and being cruel in the exercise of power, she was shortly compelled to seek safety in the fortress of Pydna, where she was, upon its capture, put to death by the enraged populace. Not, however, before she had murdered the half-witted King Aridæus and Eurydice, his Queen. Subsequently Roxana and her young son, Alexander, were put to death by Kassander—son of Antipater—who had succeeded to power in Macedonia and into whose possession Roxana and Alexander had come through the overthrow and death of Olympias. In the final outcome, all connected with the kingly house either by blood or marriage, were pursued and put to death, not one remaining.

The dynasties of Ptolemy, Seleucus and Antigonus Gonatas, mentioned above, to whom the divided Empire finally fell, proved both wise and forceful and while the kingly house of Alexander was destroyed, the fruits of its policy and far-seeing enterprise in the Orient were in great measure preserved. Seleucus and his successors on the throne, who ruled over the greater part of Asiatic Persia, including Asia Minor, took up the work where Alexander laid it down and continued

with wisdom and energy to Hellenize the conquered country and more particularly and persistently the central and western portions thereof.

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ADDENDA

MACEDONIA—THE HERAKLEID DYNASTY

MACEDONIA was an upland country, as its name implies, made up of rugged mountains, forest clad hills, brawling streams and fertile valleys; the home of a brave and virile race. In the beginning while its people appear to have acknowledged a common name and nationality, they had no central government, but were ruled by petty kings and chiefs, the people being divided into many tribes and subdivisions thereof. The rulers that finally brought all under subjection to a common government belonged to the Temenid or Herakleid race of kings of Argos. Three brothers of this line exiled from their native city in the eighth century B. C., fled to Illyria, from which country they passed over to Macedonia, where, after many adventures—and favoured by the gods it was believed—they finally acquired power. Eventually Perdiccas, the youngest and ablest of the brothers became king of Orestes with New Argos as his capital. Little by little the kingly house by superior organizing power and courage, overcame the native Macedonian rulers, governing the country as a whole. With these changes the capital was established at Ægæ (Edessa) which guarded the pass over Mt. Bermius, on the great highway between the Ionian Sea and the Thermaic Gulf. Herodotus believed the early Macedonians to be an outlying section of the Illyrians—now the Albanians. This surmise

seems, however, not to have been borne out by the facts as the Macedonians and Illyrians, so Polybius tells us, spoke an entirely different language, the one not being able to understand the other. This would hardly have been the case of a neighboring people had their origin been the same. Moreover, it appears that when the Hellenes invaded Greece many Greeks lingered in the southwestern part of Macedonia and it is possible aided the exiled princes in their conquests. Still other Greeks followed Perdiccas and his successors to the new country and thus it became in a measure Grecianized.

Students of Macedonian history in seeking a country with which to compare Macedonia under the Herakleid Kings, will be reminded of England and Scotland in the early ages, their inhabitants being alike in ambition and forceful methods. The princes and nobles similarly corresponded, the resemblance continuing in the case of the common people, so far as related to their good sense, savage courage and hardy strength. The women of Macedonia, like those of England, were accorded honour and freedom unknown in Greece or the surrounding countries. So great, indeed, is the resemblance that one is continually tempted to believe that the two people, so far removed from each other, were, nevertheless, more nearly related than history records.

Our knowledge of Perdiccas the first king and his immediate successors is extremely vague. Indeed, we have little more than the names of the five Herakleid Kings who succeeded him—Argaios, Philip, Eropus, Alcedas and Amyntas I. It was not until the time of Alexander I, son of Amyntas,

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competitors wished to exclude him, alleging that the games were not instituted for barbarian combatants, but Grecians. But Alexander, after he had proved himself to be an Argive, was pronounced to be a Greek, and when he was to contest in the stadium, his lot fell out with that of the first combatant."

Perdiccas II, who succeeded Alexander II on the throne, continued his policy of Hellenizing his country, striving by such enlightened policy to refine the manners and customs of his sturdy subjects. He proved to be a forceful ruler and through his measures and adroit policy was able to preserve his country intact from the encroachment of its ambitious neighbors. He died 418 B. C. and was succeeded by his son Alcedas of whom we know little. He was murdered at a banquet by Archelaus, an illegitimate son of Perdiccas II., who followed up the crime by murdering Alcedas' son, ending the series of tragedies by murdering Perdiccas, a son of the late King, suffocating him in a well, it is recounted. Having in this way disposed of those who would naturally have preceded him on the throne, Archelaus assumed the crown. He was assassinated in turn 399 B. C. while on a hunting trip. He, however, proved to be a great and wise king, organizing the government along enlightened and politic lines, protecting and fostering the trade and agricultural interests of his country by opening up new roads and thus rendering intercommunication between the different parts of the state possible. He further guarded and fostered the industries of his people by creating new markets and protecting fortresses. He continued the Hellenizing policy of

Alexander, and in furtherance of this introduced Greek games throughout his kingdom, and by his influence persuaded many notable Grecian poets, philosophers and artists to visit his capital. His assassination proved a great misfortune to his country, his successors lacking the strength and wisdom to protect the state from its watchful enemies abroad or govern its turbulent nobles at home. For the nobles of Macedonia, up to the time of Philip of Macedon, may be said to have been a never ending source of alarm and danger to the rulers of the state. Many of the great districts were still administered by the hereditary descendants of the Kings who had been overcome in the conquest of the country by the Herakleid dynasty. Discontented and impatient of restraint, they lost no opportunity to harass the king, aided oftentimes by the nobles many of whom possessed great estates and a numerous following of armed men. It was not until Philip of Macedon's time that prince and noble alike were brought under subjection and made to serve the country rather than their petty ambitions and native jealousies. Among other effective measures, Philip required the princes and nobles to send their sons to his court to serve as pages about his person, educating them meanwhile in a manner that would fit them to fill positions of honour and trust in the state. These lads while held in great honour at the court of the King were in reality hostages for the good behaviour of their families. The training they received and talent they displayed proved a source of strength to the state and Alexander the Great, following the practice of his father, continued them in all honour at his court, enlarg-

ing their sphere of usefulness in every practicable way.

With the death of Archelaus, 399 B. C. as already recounted, he was succeeded by his son Orestes, who was assassinated 395 B. C. by Eropus, who succeeded him on the throne. He reigned two years when he is said to have died of a sickness. On the death of Eropus, Pausanias became King, 393 B. C., and reigned one year when he was assassinated.

NOTE: It should be remembered in connection with these frequent and abrupt change of rulers and the acquiescence of the Macedonian people therein, that the only thing absolutely required in connection with the kingship was that the rulers should be of the Herakleid dynasty. If the heir apparent proved incapable or weak, or some other member of the royal family arbitrarily took his place, the change was usually accepted and the new ruler loyally supported in his office, in the event he proved worthy

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Pausanias. This prince of the royal house now aspired to the throne, his cause being espoused by a powerful Thracian prince. This prince Philip bought off and Pausanias being thus deprived of his strength ceased to be a kingly factor.

Argæus. This prince of the royal house also aspired to the throne, supported by Athens. He was destroyed by Philip in a battle on the plains near Pella. Following this Philip organized an army and marched against the Illyrian king Bordollis, and in a great battle fought in the mountain regions of Northwestern Macedonia defeated and destroyed the Illyrian king's forces, thus reclaiming the western and northern parts of Macedonia that through the turmoil of the last sixty years had become lost or weakened in their attachment.

Archelaus, a son of King Amyntas by Gygæa, and half brother of Philip and an aspirant to the throne, was put to death by Philip.

Aridæus } These sons of King Amyntas by
Menetaus. } Gygæa and half brothers of Philip, fled to escape death at his hands, but seeking refuge in Olynthus, were killed when that city was captured and sacked by Philip. With the death of these aspiring princes, civil strife and its threatenings ceased in Macedonia.

Philip of Macedon. This great king was assassinated—a causeless and deplorable crime—in August 336 B. C., the third year of the 110th Olympiad at the age of forty-six years and in

the 23rd year of his reign, by Pausanias, captain of the Royal Guard. In actual years of power, Philip's reign was longer than any king who preceded him, and this may be cited as evidence of his greatness, considering the state of the kingdom when he came into power, and the manner in which he acquired the throne.

Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas III., being but a child when his father died, Philip of Macedon was appointed his guardian and regent. He, however, found it impossible to protect and govern the country thus handicapped and because of this—and with the assent of the country—assumed the crown; but contrary to the usual custom, did not kill his youthful rival (Amyntas), but treated him as a son and permitted him to grow up undisturbed; and when he became a man, married him to Kynane, one of his daughters. Amyntas was put to death by Alexander the Great when the latter ascended the throne, for abetting the conspiracy that resulted in Philip's death.

Ceranus. This prince, the infant son of Philip and Cleopatra—and supported by the partisans of the latter as heir to the throne against Alexander the Great—was put to death as a measure of public safety after Alexander's accession.

Cleopatra, Philip's second queen, was put to death by Olympias, the mother of Alexander, after the latter's accession, and during his absence.

Alexander the Great ascended the throne in August 336, died in June 323 B. C. at Babylon, of a fever, thought to have been incurred while visiting the marshes and lakes about Babylon. He reigned twelve years and eight months, and was thirty-two years and eight months old when he died. Alexander the Great was the last of the Herakleid line of kings to sit on the throne of Macedonia. Philip of Macedon's half-witted son, Aridæus, and Alexander's posthumous child by Roxana, were declared kings under the tutelage of the Regent Perdiccas after Alexander the Great's death, but never exercised authority, both suffering death at the hands of their ambitious enemies.

SUCCESSORS OF THE HERAKLEID KINGS

Antipater, Philip's civil governour and Alexander's civil and military governour of Macedonia, became Chief Administrator of Macedonia and Greece, 323 B. C., on Alexander's death. He died at a great age, 319 B. C.

Polysperchon, one of Alexander's generals, was designated by Antipater to succeed him, but his authority being disputed and defied by Kassander, son of Antipater, he—after having lost power in Macedonia—formally relinquished all claim thereto, 309 B. C., retiring to the nominal Governourship of a part of Southern Greece as the ally of Kassander.

Kassander. This ambitious and cruel man, the son of Antipater, succeeded Polysperchon in the government of Macedonia. To strengthen his

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him to a mild form of imprisonment in Asia until he died, 283 B. C. His father was the ablest of Alexander's generals and was allotted Greater Phrygia in the division of the empire. But through his wars, he obtained possession of the greater part of Asia Minor when he was killed in his eightieth year in battle and his possessions divided among the victors. He was the first of the viceroys to throw off all pretense of allegiance to the Herakleid dynasty and assume the title of King.

Seleucus,
Ptolemy Cerounus,
Meleager,
Antipater,
Sosthenes.

Each of these ruled Macedonia for a period, but were finally dispossessed in 277 B. C. by Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius.

Antigonus Gonatas. This great man—son of Demetrius—became King of Macedonia, 277 B. C., and his descendants ruled the country as kings until 168, when the last of the line, Perseus, was overthrown by the Romans and his kingdom incorporated as a part of the Roman Empire.

FATE OF THE LAST OF THE ROYAL HOUSE

Kynane, Philip's daughter by an Illyrian mother (and the widow of Amyntas), was put to death by the Regent Perdiccas, 322 B. C., instigated thereto by Olympias.

Aridæus, Philip's feeble-minded son by his Thessalonian mistress, Philinna, was proclaimed king at Babylon by the generals after Alex-

ander's death, Perdiccas being named his guardian and chief minister. He was put to death in Macedonia by the old queen, Olympias, 317 B. C.

Eurydice, the daughter of Amyntas by Kynane and wife of Aridæus was put to death by Olympias, 317 B. C.

Olympias, the mother of Alexander, who returned to Macedonia in high favour, accompanied by Roxana and the latter's son, was put to death because of her savage cruelties, 316 B. C., by vote of the Macedonian Assembly, the relations and friends of her victims being called upon to perform the deed, the soldiers having refused. She is said to have met death with a fortitude worthy of her heroic lineage.

Roxana, the queen and widow of Alexander the Great, was put to death by Kassander, 315 B. C., at Amphilolis—now Salonika.

Alexander, the son of Alexander the Great—Roxana's child—born 323 B. C., at Babylon, after Alexander's death. He was made joint king with Aridæus by the generals but was put to death by Kassander, 315 B. C., with his mother at Amphilolis, where they were in confinement, unknown, it is thought, to the people of Macedonia. See Kassander.

Herakles. This young prince was enticed from Asia Minor into the Peloponnesus by Polysperchon, instigated thereto by Kassander—the cruelest of all the military monsters that

succeeded the great and magnanimous Conqueror—where he was poisoned or strangled at a banquet, 309 B. C. He was the son of Alexander by Barsine. The dominion promised Polysperchon, for his part in the betrayal and murder, was never fulfilled and he died in obscurity and dishonour.

Kleopatra, the widow of the Epirot king Alexander and full sister of Alexander the Great, was put to death for political reasons at Sardis by Antigonus, 308 B. C., as she was on the point of leaving for Egypt to marry Ptolemy.

Thessalionike, the daughter of Philip by his Thessalonian mistress, Philinna and the widow of Kassander, was killed by her son Antipater (for favouring the claims of his brother) after Kassander's death, 298 B. C.

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